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HISTORY

OF THE

SWISS PEOPLE

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THE

MODEL REPUBLIC

A HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE SWISS PEOPLE

BY

F. GRENFELL BAKER

176746
8.12.22

LONDON

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IN

LOVING AND GRATEFUL MEMORY

OF

RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S.

To whose advice "The Model Republic" owes its origin, and by whose help and encouragement during three years of close companionship it was completed, the author dedicates this volume.

When Richard Burton, by right of his life's record, entered the Valhalla of the heroic dead, the age lost one of its foremost scholars, linguists, explorers, scientists, and poets; it lost a high-minded gentleman, an honourable and gallant man. The United Kingdom was honoured by being his birth-land; the best and bravest of all countries claimed him as a compatriot.

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HISTORY

OF

THE SWISS PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC PERIOD

Although no historical records exist earlier than about a century before the Christian era regarding the people of Switzerland, yet the vast stores of long-hidden material brought to light in recent years through the patient researches of native and foreign archæologists, afford ample evidence that at very remote periods the country contained numerous inhabitants. So complete, indeed, are the sources of information, that we are now able to determine the social and domestic habits of the ancient Swiss, and to form a fairly accurate idea of the progress of civilisation made by them long before classical writers brought them on the pages of authentic history.

To Ferdinand Keller, of Zürich, belongs the great honour of being the first to investigate thoroughly, and arrange systematically the materials bearing on this important and interesting subject. His attention was

directed to the possibility of the existence, at some remote epoch of the world's being, of a large population occupying the Swiss valleys, by finding scattered in great quantities over the country what were evidently man-made implements of domestic toil, and manufactured weapons of war and the chase, none of which were known to be in use during historic times. Many of these possessed the peculiarity of being fashioned out of stone instead of metal, and were evidently primitive prototypes of articles used within historic periods.

Lake-Dwellings.

During the exceptional dry seasons of 1853-4 the water of Lake Zürich receded to a very unusual extent. It was then noticed, at a spot close to the town of Obermeilen, that a number of half-decayed wooden posts studded the Lake bottom. On removing several of these they were found to be roughly sharpened at their buried ends, as if by scraping or burning, and to be supported by masses of clay, stone and bundles of wood. Amidst the latter were discovered a quantity of stone implements like those already found inland. Shortly afterwards similar collections were met with at many places in the other Swiss lakes, and a sufficient number of relics were brought to light to demonstrate conclusively the previous existence of large villages, built entirely of wood and supported on piles, at short distances from the shore. Thousands of examples of the actual articles used by the dwellers in these primitive artificially-constructed villages, as well as portions of almost every part of their houses, have been recovered by Keller, and the many investigators who followed in his steps. From the results of their labours, it is probable that the following represents the chief general appearance and condition of one of

these lake-dwellings as it existed many hundreds, if not thousands, of years ago.

A spot being chosen in some lake where the water was fairly shallow at a short distance from the shore, a number of straight tree-trunks were cut or burned down from the neighbouring forest, which, after being sharpened at one extremity, were then firmly driven into the lake-floor, leaving the projecting ends several feet above the water. Where the bed was soft and muddy greater support was afforded to the piles by placing masses of wood, stone and clay around and between them. The materials were carried in canoes fashioned from the trunks of thick trees, similar to those employed by savages at the present day, that are known as *monozyles* or *dug-outs*, and measuring in some instances as much as 40 feet in length by 11 feet in breadth, of which several specimens are still preserved in the various Swiss museums. On the tops of the projecting supports a platform was next built of stout transverse beams, either dove-tailed into the substructure, or pinned on to it by wooden pegs, though in some few cases the whole platform-support was made up of fascines, stones and clay, with occasional stakes to afford greater security. Upon the platform thus made the huts were constructed, being built of rough planks or stems, having the interstices filled with branches and clay, the latter being also spread in a thick layer over the floor. These huts were mostly quadrilateral in shape, divided into two rooms, and clustered closely together, averaging about 23 feet by 17 feet in size; others were circular, and it is uncertain whether they had windows or whether the door was the only aperture for admitting light. A trap in the

floor communicated with the lake, and through this the general refuse of the abode was cast. The roofs consisted of thatch composed of rushes, leaves and straw. Communication with the shore in the great majority of the villages was maintained by means of a long, narrow bridge, supported in the same manner as the platforms, and in some instances sheds were erected close to the huts for the cattle and sheep, though these were usually left on the shore.

From the nature of the relics found amid the *débris* on the sites of these ancient lacustrine settlements, it would seem that the huts contained all the necessary accommodation for a family, with the needful cooking and other domestic utensils for lessening labour, and subjugating and utilising nature's products. Every village had its mill to grind the corn and other cereals that were largely grown on the neighbouring land, where also the sheep and cattle were pastured. Weavers' looms and spinning-wheels were largely used, and skins, linen and woollen fabrics prepared for clothing by the women; whilst the men fished, hunted, or hoed their fields. The lake-dwellers lived an isolated existence, having little or no communication with the outside world till a much later period, when we see bronze and iron introduced amongst them. The finding of relics made of these latter metals marks distinctly a great advance in general culture, as also in time; they must have been brought from countries other than Switzerland, she herself being singularly barren in iron, copper and tin.

Many of the settlements were evidently of great extent, occupying sites equal in area to five or six English acres, and requiring as many as 100,000 piles

for their support. That on the Lake of Bienne covers a space equal to more than six English acres; that at Robenhausen is of equal size, and is calculated to contain 100,000 piles; whilst opposite the little town of Morges, on Lake Léman, one existed measuring 1,200 feet by 150 feet. Other large settlements were erected in various parts of Lake Léman (where the remains of twenty-four distinct villages are seen), and in the lakes of Neuchâtel, Zürich and Constanz, as well as in the smaller sheets of water. In Lake Constanz thirty-two, and spread over that of Neuchâtel more than fifty, have been found.

The reason for building these water habitations has been much disputed, but there can be little doubt that it was in order to afford the inhabitants greater protection against the vast numbers of savage animals that tenanted the forests which, in those early times, covered the greater part of the country, as well as a defence against incursions of neighbouring hostile tribes. It is impossible from existing evidence to speak with any degree of certainty as to the antiquity of the earlier stations; but, from the difference in quality of the materials used in the manufacture of the relics, and the improved and more artistic fashion of those evidently belonging to a later date, we arrive at a division into three successive epochs. These correspond with the ages when stone, bronze, or iron formed the chief material in use. This division is practically useful, and gives, moreover, a general idea of the length of time that must have elapsed since that far distant date when primæval man was little, if at all, removed in intellectual development from the higher forms of brute beasts. "When man wandered in the dark forests, he

was nature's serf; he offered tribute and prayer to the winds, and the lightning and the rain, to the cave-lion, which seized his burrow for its lair, to the mammoth, which devoured his scanty crops. But as time passed on he ventured to rebel; he made stone his servant; he discovered fire and vegetable poison; he domesticated iron; he slew the wild beasts, or subdued them; he made them feed him and give him clothes.[1] The trees of the forest were his flock, he slaughtered them at his convenience, the earth brought forth at his command."—(" Martyrdom of Man.")

In some of the village *débris* all the relics found are fashioned entirely of stone, bone, or horn; in others, in

1 This division into Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages is, of course, purely arbitrary (each age must have merged by slow degrees into the succeeding one); but from our present knowledge it is impossible to be more scientifically exact, though many authorities have attempted to be so. Before the introduction of the general use of stone, there certainly existed a period when primæval man did not possess the slight knowledge the fashioning of this material involved, and when his only weapons were sticks, and half-fashioned pieces of wood and horn. In some countries, where stone is scarce or hard to procure, as in the more remote regions of Greenland, the natives still employ wood and bone to make their weapons and domestic utensils, sharpening and fashioning them by burning or boiling, and the great manual dexterity they possess. Numerous fragments of nets used by prehistoric man have been found in the remains in the Swiss lakes, many being made with very large meshes, often two inches or more square. From this circumstance it has been conjectured that they were manufactured at a time when the fish in the various lakes were abnormally large. As, however, the Swiss lakes contain quantities of large fish, as the ferras, this hypothesis falls to the ground. A theory accounting for the long preservation of these nets in the water has been propounded, which, if not true, is at all events ingenious. As most of the lacustrine villages were built of pine wood, and nearly all perished by fire, it is thought that the heat of the several conflagrations caused the pine resin to exude, and this, falling into the water, covered portions of nets, and so preserved them.

addition to those materials, bronze is present; whilst in a third set iron appears to have almost entirely superseded both stone and bronze. In the latter period the nature and form of many of the articles show their manufacture to be contemporaneous with that of the Roman era, but doubtless iron was used by the primitive Swiss many centuries before Rome extended her influence beyond the Alps. Though the materials at different periods are thus found to be different, no difference is apparent in the construction of the dwellings themselves, which have been built practically in the same manner through countless ages.

Stone Age.

This early period, which is sub-divided into the paleolithic, or rough stone, and the neolithic, or polished stone, ages, is well seen in the remains of the water settlement that once existed in the Lake of Mooseedorf, in Canton Bern. The village, which measured some 70 feet by 50 feet, appears, from the charred condition of the wood that composed it, to have shared the fate that so often befel these structures, and been burnt to the water's edge. Numbers of the upright wooden stakes still remain, amongst which were discovered many large stone axe-heads, fixed in stag's horn and wood hafts, sharpened flint arrow-heads, spears of horn, and a finely serrated flint saw, together with fish-hooks, awls, and piercing instruments made from bone. A curious, and probably unique, relic found here was a skate fashioned out of one of the long bones of a horse's leg; coarsely-made pottery cups, and cooking vessels, showing a very primitive mode of manufacture (several still bearing the impress of the fingers of those who made them) also came to light. The animal remains were bones of the ox, swine, sheep, goat, bear, horse,

bison and elk. Many similar lake-dwellings have elsewhere been found where the early Swiss were unacquainted with the use of metals, and a still larger number in which bronze also makes its appearance; yet the materials of the earlier epoch greatly preponderate, showing a transitional condition when the old order was changing. Of the many stone implements dating from this epoch the minerals most frequently used were flint, sandstone, mica schist, diorite, and porphyry.

Bronze Age.

The ancient lake village, situated near where Auvernier now stands, on the shore of the Lake of Neuchâtel, furnishes many specimens of the bronze age, as do several other sites in different localities. Many of the specimens show a high degree of artistic skill in their manufacture, and indicate a great advance in mental culture on the part of those that made them. Bronze spear-heads and swords, an anvil, chisels, knives, plain and ornamental rings for personal adornment, gold studded brooches, and a large quantity of pottery, beautifully shaped and finely made, are some among the many articles that have been recovered.

Iron Age.

On this same Lake of Neuchâtel, at a settlement near Marin, iron takes the place of bronze and stone in most of the articles brought to light; and, from the still greater beauty and perfection shown in their production, this village must have been of a much later date than those in which bronze or stone alone were in use.

Many iron swords, contained in iron scabbards, here came to light; and these, from their form, greatly resembled, and were probably identical with, early Gallic weapons. Whilst the excavations were in progress, the bones belonging to eight human skeletons

were discovered. This is interesting, as being one of the very few instances where the actual remains of the ancient lake-dwellers have been found. Both Gallic and Roman coins were mixed with the iron swords, spear-heads, ornaments, and other *débris* forming the remnants of this village, which thus brings the record of lake-dwellings up to historic times.

Mixed Ages.

At Robenhausen, the curious discovery has been made, in the peaty bed that was once occupied by the Lake of Pfäffikon, of the remains of three distinct villages, superimposed on one another, and clearly divided by layers of sedimentary deposits, marking three separate epochs. The first, or lowest, was evidently destroyed by fire, and amidst its carbonised piles implements of bone and stone only were discovered. Over this stratum lay a deposit of sediment nearly 3 feet in thickness, and here a series of partially-burned piles were buried, together with pottery and articles of stone, horn and bone, more artistically finished than those below. Above came another layer of sediment, through which were driven a number of split oak trunks. These show that the workmen possessed better tools than those of their predecessors, who were able to use only pine or other soft wood for the stakes supporting their abodes, and were capable only of scraping or partially cutting even these with their primitive flint knives. Many highly-finished articles were also found in this upper layer, including well-made plates, tubs, spoons, clubs, bows, fishing-tackle, a thrashing flail, and many varieties of cloth, both plaited and woven. Besides these, a dug-out canoe, 12 feet long, came to light, together with many axes and arrow-heads of stone. Although no articles

made of bronze were here discovered, several crucibles containing traces of that amalgam attest its presence, and show, moreover, that it was made in the settlement and not wholly imported in its finished state.

Land Dwellers.

It is now pretty generally conceded that the people who occupied the Swiss valleys in prehistoric times were essentially identical with those living on the lakes. Both the design and material of the weapons and domestic implements found belonging to the former precisely correspond with those possessed by the latter.

Little is known for certain of the religion, language, or race of the early Swiss people, though a great probability exists that they were made up of Kelts who migrated into the land. There seems no real reason to doubt that the lake-dwellers were of the same ethnic descent as the Helvetians who first appear in history, and that in spite of the prevalent view that is now held. As with other ancient races, the Swiss were pagans, and amidst their hosts of deities probably placed the moon in a very exalted position. Many lunar-shaped relics have been unearthed at Ebenberg and at Brienne.

Religion.

"In the period of Thing-worship every brook, tree, hill and star is itself a living creature, benevolent or malignant, asleep or awake. In the next stage, every object and phenomenon is inhabited or presided over by a genius or a spirit.

"As the reasoning powers of men expand, their gods diminish in number and rule over larger areas, till finally it is perceived there is unity in nature—that everything that exists is part of one harmonious whole. When the poet invokes in his splendid frenzy the shining spheres of heaven, the murmuring fountain, and the rushing stream; when he calls upon the earth to hearken, and

bids the wild sea listen to his song; when he communes with the sweet secluded valleys and the haughty hills, as if those inanimate objects were alive, as if the masses of brute matter were endowed with sense and thought, we do not smile, we do not sneer, we do not reason, but we feel. A secret chord is touched within us; a slumbering sympathy is awakened into life. Who has not felt an impulse of hatred, and perhaps expressed it in a senseless curse, against a fiery stroke of sunlight or a sudden gust of wind? Who has not felt a pang of pity for a flower torn and trampled in the dust, a shell dashed to fragments by the waves? Such emotions and ideas last only for a moment; they do not belong to us; they are the fossil fancies of a bygone age; they are a heritage of thought from the childhood of our race. For there was a time when they possessed the human mind. There was a time when the phrases of modern poetry were the facts of ordinary life. There was a time when man lived in fellowship with nature, believing that all things which moved or changed had minds and bodies kindred to his own. To those primæval people the sun was a great being who brightened them in his pleasure and who scorched them in his wrath. The earth was a sleeping monster; sometimes it rose a little and turned itself in bed. They walked upon its back when living; they were put into its belly when they died. Fire was a savage animal, which bit when it was touched. The birds and beasts were foreigners, possessing languages and customs of their own. The plants were dumb creatures, with characters good and bad, sometimes gloomy in aspect, malignant in their fruit, sometimes dispensing wholesome food and pleasant shade." This quotation from the late Winward Reed's great work is

inserted, as it embodies within the compass of a few paragraphs more suggestions of the truth concerning the mental development of primæval man than is to be found in all the many treatises that learned specialists have written on the subject.[1] No date can be assigned to the period of the lake-dwellers, though of necessity it must be a very remote one.

Historical Lake-Dwellings.

Before closing this short outline of the prehistoric times in Switzerland, it may be interesting to glance at our knowledge of lake-dwellings in other countries. Although Helvetia affords the greatest number of examples of these settlements, similar collections have been in existence for vast ages scattered over the world down to the present time, though it would appear not to any great extent. The earliest historical references to this subject are found in the writings of Hippocrates and Herodotus, some 400 years before the Christian era. The former describes the people of Phasis, in Asia Minor, as living in wooden homes built upon piles driven into the marshy ground of the country, and as using boats made from a single tree. Herodotus, speaking of the people of Lake Prasias, tells us they built homes on platforms, supported by upright stakes driven into the bottom of the lake, and communicated with the shore by means of a long bridge; and that in the interior of the huts was a trap-door leading down to the water.

1 It is also inserted as a tribute to the memory of one who combined in his character the greatest instincts of the greatest poets, who possessed a knowledge of ancient and modern learning perfectly phenomenal, and whose originality of thought was only exceeded by the tones of the vividly beautiful word-pictures in which he embodied his ideas. Death cut short the promise his brilliant, though short, career conveyed of a life destined to mark an era in English thought, knowledge and culture.

When this door was open the children were prevented from falling out by means of a lanyard tied to one leg. The fishermen of the district, according to the account given by Sir John Lubbock, still continue to live in similar structures over the water.

Coming to much later times, we find Abulfeda, the celebrated Mohammedan geographer and historian of the 13th century, describing a community of Christian fisherman who formed a settlement on Lake Apamæa, in Syria, living on pile-supported houses over the water.

During the Irish wars of the 16th century many of the chieftains built their strongholds in the midst of the lakes on artificially-constructed islands of stones and wood, called *crannogs*. Similar lake-forts were built by the Kelts after the Roman era, and up to mediæval times. In most of the many lakes scattered through Austria, Italy, and Savoy, and other European countries, there is abundant evidence to show that at some remote period they were occupied by lacustrine dwellers.

Modern Lake-Dwellings.

In many of the more uncivilised portions of the world the natives are found in the present day to be partially in the age of stone, many in that of iron, using stone implements for domestic purposes, war and the chase; and in other ways living identically the same life as that pursued by the early ancestors of the Swiss and other nations. Even in Great Britain, in some of the more remote parts of Scotland and the Shetland Isles, stone spindle-wheels, ironing, smoothing, and heating stones, stone sinkers for fishing nets, as well as rude pottery vessels, and many other articles not to be distinguished from those of prehistoric man, can still be seen in actual daily use. More than this: lacustrine villages, apparently precisely similar in their mode of

construction to those that were once tenanted in the Swiss lakes, are yet found in many localities. In his highly interesting and instructive work, "Across Africa," Commander Lovett Cameron describes the appearance of such a village that he discovered in the heart of the Dark Continent on Lake Mohrya. Speaking of this settlement, he says, "The huts were built on platforms raised about six feet above the surface of the water, supported on stout piles driven into the bed of the lake. Some were oblong and others round, the former usually having a projecting roof over the door. Underneath the platform canoes (dug-outs, some 25 feet long) were moored, and nets hung to dry."

Many similar lake-dwellings also exist in the Gulf of Maracaibo and the estuaries of the Amazon and Orinoco. Venezuela owes its name—*little Venice*—to its resemblance in construction to the most famous of all water-dwellings, the Queen of the Adriatic. D'Urville has given an account of four villages he found in the Bay of Dorci, and others have been met with in Borneo, Siam, the Straits Settlements, the Celebes and the Caroline Islands. Sir Richard Burton, whilst engaged in his important mission to the King of Dahomey in 1864, discovered a large settlement on the West Coast of Africa of natives of Dahomey, who, fleeing from the cruelty of the native rulers, had erected a number of wooden huts, firmly supported on piles and platforms, within the extensive lagoons that occur between Whydah and Lagos.

CHAPTER II

EARLY INHABITANTS OF HELVETIA AND RHÆTIA

To Roman historians we are indebted for our first authentic knowledge of the early inhabitants of Switzerland. According to these, about a century before the Christian era the country was thickly populated with numerous semi-savage Keltic tribes, chief of which were the Helvetii and the Rhæti.

The Helvetii.

The Helvetii inhabited the plains lying between Lake Léman, the Alps, and the Jura, and the southern borders of the Boden Sea (Lake of Constanz), this tract being then known as Helvetia, and distinct from the districts that make up modern Switzerland. The name Helvetia, or Elvetia, has been derived from the Keltic, signifying a high mountainous region.[1] The country was divided into four principal *pagi*, or cantons; two are cited by Cæsar as *Tigurinus* and *Verbigenus*, or *Urbigenus;* Strato refers to a third under the name of *Toygenus;* whilst from the frequent references to the *Ambrones*, in connection with the Helvetii, it is possible they formed the people of the fourth *pagus*—(Watchæner).

Essentially agricultural and pastoral, the Helvetii were a wild and warlike race, constantly engaged in

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1 Helvetii, of which the old form was Elvetii, or Helvii, probably comes from the Keltic *el*, *il*, high, *na* land, *dæe* man; that is, highlander. Ptolemy writes the word *Eluetoi*, Strato *Eluettion*, and by the Romans the *u* became converted into *v*.

feuds amongst themselves, or plundering expeditions against their neighbours, more especially against the Germans across the Rhine. Cæsar greatly extols their bravery, and remarks on the rapid progress they made in population. According to his computation, in his own times, they numbered 300,000 souls, and lived in 400 villages and 12 towns. The latter were somewhat larger than the other settlements, and were fortified by stockades and trenches. The people of the four *pagi*, like the Gauls, formed a Federal Republic, over which annually-elected magistrates, called *Vergobrets*, chosen by universal vote, presided and administered whatever laws were authorised. Their power was, however, more nominal than real, as the several tribal chiefs and heads of powerful families frequently set their authority at defiance, and ruled supreme and absolute within their own districts. Though acquainted with the use of iron and bronze, the Helvetii knew not the art of tempering steel, and were consequently placed at a great disadvantage when fighting the Romans. They affected personal adornment, and, according to their condition, wore ornaments, many being beautifully worked, of gold, silver, bronze, etc. Of the many coins found, other than Greek, Roman, or Gallic, the greater quantity has been discovered at Aventicum (Avenches), and these coins usually show the head of a goddess or chief, and on the reverse a cock, a wolf, or a bear. Of their language little or nothing is known, except a few names they gave to their towns and mountains, as *Alps* (*Alb*, white). What little civilisation they possessed they probably learnt, as they did the Greek alphabet, from the occasional visits of merchant pirates from Marseilles.

In religion they were pagans, like all early races,

worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, and the numberless forces of nature that so lavishly exhibited their presence in the country. Indeed the topographical peculiarities of Helvetia—the surrounding lofty and snow-covered ranges of mountains, the impenetrable gloom of the seemingly endless forests, the sudden and weird roar of the falling avalanche, and the many other inexplicable phenomena—were specially likely to create or perpetuate a barbarous and unreasoning worship so apparently evidenced by every surrounding object, to a nation in but the early youth, if not the childhood, of its career. Whether religious rites similar to those practised by the ancient Druids of Brittany and Anglesey existed, as so many Swiss historians affirm, there is no evidence to show. Of native deities only three are now known: Aventia, the protecting goddess of Aventicum; Sylva Belini, the deity of the forests (both probably taken from Roman Mythology); and, in the neighbourhood of Lausonnium (Lausanne), Belinus (the Apollo of the Greeks). After the death of a great chieftain the Helvetii deified his spirit, and offered prayers for his aid in their undertakings. His body was usually deposited, together with his clothes, armour, weapons, and ornaments, beneath great masses of earth and stones. Many of these tumuli still exist, one of especial size having been discovered in the Forest of Birmensdorf, between Windisch and Baden.

In immediate contact with Helvetia were the Germans to the north, the Boii to the north-east, in the districts now known as Bavaria and Bohemia (both deriving their modern names from the ancient Boii), the Wiener-Wald, and the districts along the northern side of the Boden-See, the Rhæti to the east, the Romans on

the south, with the Nantuali, Veragri and the Seduni, and, separated by the Jura, to the west, the Sequani and the Gauls. The territory now known as the Franche-Comté was occupied by the Sequani, and Savoy and Geneva by the Allobroges.

The modern Canton of Ticino at this period was occupied by a Ligurian tribe, the Lepontines.

Rhætia. The portion of modern Switzerland known as the Graubünden, or the Grisons, was named Rhætia in its early historical period, and was then inhabited by a distinct race to that which peopled Helvetia. The Rhæti were apparently largely, if not entirely, composed of Etruscan settlers, belonging to the northern Etruscan Confederacy, who, led by a chief named Rhætius, were driven north on the advance of the Roman power in Italy. Livy, Pliny the elder, and Justin, all refer to the belief, old in their days, that the Rhæti were formerly Etruscans, who originally came from the north. The name is, however, also derived from the Keltic *Rhath*, a mountain, and *ia*, land, a mountainous land, but may have been a purely Etruscan word, the signification of which is now, like most words of that ancient language, entirely lost. The Rhæti extended into Italy as far as Verona and Coomo, and were divided into numerous tribes, several being evidently either wholly or in part of the Keltic race. Beyond the occurrence of frequent wars with the Boii, Germans, and Helvetii, little is known of the early history of this people, who, through the natural advantages for defence their country possessed, and their own savage and warlike habits, maintained their independence and their isolated position longer than any of the other inhabitants of Switzerland.

The restless spirit of warlike enterprise, so long a predominating characteristic of the Helvetii, only required a fitting occasion to spur the nation into undertaking greater deeds than they had yet done. According to Pliny, such incentive was furnished by a workman named Helicon, who, returning from Rome, where he had been employed, gave such a vivid description of the beauty, richness, and extent of the lands beyond the Alps, that the whole nation determined, with one accord, to leave their own barren and inhospitable country and seek new homes. Moreover, elsewhere events were occurring that appeared to show the hand of destiny, urging them to follow this impulse. In or about the year 110 B.C., hordes of Teutons and Kimbri descended like an immense pack of hungry wolves upon Gaul, conquering all before them and devastating the lands over which they passed. On the news of this invasion reaching the Helvetii, they at once resolved to join and share the fortunes of the new-comers. Led by the *pagus Tigurinus*, and under the supreme command of a youthful warrior chief named Diviko, who possessed all the qualities likely to form a bold and successful general, the Helvetii set out on their march, and soon succeeded in inducing the northerners to allow them to join their forces. The terrified people of Gaul, seeing every prospect of being speedily conquered, if not annihilated, sent urgent messages to the Romans for assistance in their extremity. The appeal was quickly responded to, and the Consul Lucius Cassius was despatched with a large army to defend the country. Meanwhile the allied barbarians made their way across Gaul, along the banks of the Garonne, destroying all who opposed their progress, and leaving

First Helvetian Migration.

110 B.C.

Diviko

the land bare in every direction. At Agen the Romans first encountered their savage opponents, and here, after a fearful onslaught, they were completely defeated, Cassius himself, together with his lieutenant, Lucius Piso, being amongst the slain. Of the hitherto invincible legions of Rome, nearly all those who formed the army of Cassius perished, and the few who survived the general carnage were made prisoners and compelled to pass under the yoke, a ceremony equivalent to enslaving them. After this victory, Diviko and his allies continued their march, and succeeded in defeating three more Roman armies sent to oppose them. But fortune, thus far so favourable, at last deserted the barbarian hosts. Having overrun the greater part of Gaul, they determined to make a descent upon the fertile plains of Northern Italy, and for this purpose divided their forces into two armies. One, containing the Helvetian *pagus* of the *Toygeni*, marching to enter Italy through its north-west frontier by Nicæa, and round the coast of the Sinus Ligusticus (Gulf of Genoa), and the other following the course of the Rhine, and debouching on Italy through the Tyrol. Whilst passing through the Roman province of the *Allobroges*, the first division encountered a Roman army under the command of the Consul Marius, who not only totally defeated them near Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix, in Provence) on the banks of the Rhine, but also annihilated the *pagus Toygenus* (102 B.C.). The second division was no less unfortunate, meeting a similar fate at the hands of Marius, who had mustered his legions at Vercellæ (Vercelli, westward of Milan), and who, after a desperate resistance, succeeded in cutting the whole force to pieces (101 B.C.). The only portion of the

Battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, 102 B.C.

Battle of Vercellæ, 101 B.C.

invaders' army that was saved out of the general carnage was that comprising the Helvetian *pagus Tigurinus*, that had prudently remained in the mountains awaiting the result of the battle. The real honour of this victory undoubtedly lay with the Roman general, Catulus, who had already been defeated near the source of the Adige, and who, collecting his scattered soldiers, joined Marius and bore the chief brunt of the battle, Marius's troops taking only an unimportant part in the day's fighting.[1] On receiving news of the extermination of their allies the Tigurini at once retreated, and eventually succeeded in re-entering the land of their birth, which they had left with such high hopes but a few years before. It is impossible to estimate the number slaughtered in these two Roman victories, but as the Tigurini appear as the sole survivors, it must have been enormous. Amongst those who returned to Helvetia was the commander, Diviko, who, in spite of the disastrous termination of his expedition, doubtless remained a prominent leader amongst his people during the ensuing half century, as in 58 B.C. he again appears in history as the representative of his nation. Such a national and crushing disaster as the Romans inflicted on the Helvetii would probably have permanently cooled the ardour of a less warlike people for foreign conquests; 58 B.C.

1 A few years back the last of a colony of Old-German speaking people died at Recoans, where, according to all local records, they had existed since the battle of Vercellæ, and may very well have originated in a settlement formed by some of the remnants of the Kimbrians who succeeded in escaping the Romans, in a country covered with dense forests. They retained the tradition, and the answer to a foreigner enquiring concerning their origin was "Ik pin Kimper," I am a Kimbrian.—(Sir Richard Burton.)

but far from this, after devoting some fifty years to repairing the effects of their defeats, the nation once more began extensive preparations for a second migration.

Second Helvetian Migration.

For more than two years before the date fixed for departure, everything was done to ensure success. Corn was grown in great quantity to provide food on the way; arms in abundance were manufactured; and herds of oxen were collected to draw the thousands of carts and war-chariots built to convey the provisions and act as transports.

Orgetorix.

Learning at length the great advantage derived from unity and being under a single capable commander, the Helvetii, after much discussion and no little intrigue, elected the most powerful and wealthy of their chiefs, Orgetorix, to this important post. His personal position seems quite phenomenal, judging from the recorded poverty of the people and the country, as, beyond the possession of immense landed estates, he owned many thousands of vassals, besides innumerable slaves and other followers. His very name signified power, as in the Keltic tongue it meant "chief of a hundred valleys," and, written Orcitirix, it has come to light on coins of that period, faced by the image of a bear, a symbol destined in later times to play such an important part in Swiss affairs. To this chief was further entrusted the task of forming friendships with the surrounding tribes whose hostility might interfere with the Helvetii successfully leaving their country. Unfortunately for Orgetorix, who, with all his wealth, was dominated by extreme ambition, it became known that he was intriguing with certain chiefs of the *Seguani* and *Aeduii*. His object was to induce them to seize the

absolute command of their respective tribes and assist him in making himself king over the Helvetii. It was further intended to conquer and divide Gaul amongst the conspirators. This act of treason, for it was a criminal offence, punishable with death by burning, for anyone to aspire to make himself king in Helvetia, led to Orgetorix, in spite of his great wealth, power and popularity, being summoned to answer and defend his conduct before a tribunal of the people. Orgetorix accordingly made his appearance before his judges, but so did some 10,000 of his followers, fully armed, and no trial consequently took place. Shortly afterwards, however, the difficult problem of how to deal with the dishonoured chief was solved by his sudden death, whether by suicide or murder seems doubtful. In spite of this ominous commencement the Helvetii continued their preparations with ardour. In less than three months the whole nation was on the march, and literally the whole people went forth, men, women, and children, to seek and conquer the lands and homes of their radiant dreams, and, the better to fortify themselves against any wish to return, they burnt their towns, villages, and houses, and all they were unable to take with them. To the Helvetian ranks were also added large numbers of the Boii from across the Rhine, as well as many from the neighbouring tribes. The total number as given by Cæsar is 365,000, of whom 58 B.C. 92,000 were fighting men.

This time the Roman Senate determined to prevent a second invasion of Gaul and effectually destroy all chances of future troubles with the Helvetii. Julius Cæsar was selected as Commander-in-Chief of the Roman legions, and entrusted with extensive powers

to carry through his task. The late barbarian leader resembled in many respects the celebrated Roman soldier. Both harboured ambitious designs of personal aggrandisement, both were unscrupulous and ostentatious, and both came to an inglorious death as a result of private and personal greed. Whether Orgetorix further resembled Cæsar in the magnitude and depravity of the latter's debaucheries is not known. With characteristic promptitude Cæsar on receiving his command journeyed to Geneva, and at once began his work. According to the account he himself gives, only two roads were possible for the Helvetii to take on leaving their country: one, of extreme difficulty and danger, through the Jura, and the other across the Rhône, near Geneva. If this account be accurate, it necessarily implies that either the Helvetii had predetermined to pass by one or other of these two roads, or that some insuperable obstacle hindered their passage by the north or the south. However this may have been, the Geneva route was eventually preferred. On his arrival, Cæsar's first act was the destruction of the bridge connecting the town with the mainland, Geneva being then an island belonging to the *Allobroges*. He next levied a number of soldiers from the neighbouring Roman province, and strongly fortified his position. On their part, the Helvetii sent ambassadors to request Cæsar's permission to pass peaceably. His preparations being not yet completed, Cæsar delayed giving a definite answer, and temporised for three weeks, during which time he entrenched his position and built a rampart, 18 miles long and 12 feet high, with towers at intervals, to the Jura. This wall extended along the southern bank as far as the spot where the Jura opens for the passage

of the river, and opposite the modern Fort l'Ecluse, where the Rhône ceases to be fordable. It probably consisted chiefly of earth (the removal of which would form the trench) with whatever light stones were found. As an explanation of the rapidity of the work, it must be remembered that where military operations such as this had to be executed, not only were the Roman soldiers employed, but the whole population of the immediate neighbourhood were compelled to assist, and that, too, gratuitously. Having finished this gigantic task in the short time at his disposal, collected a further contingent of soldiers, and otherwise greatly strengthened himself, Cæsar sent a definite refusal to allow the Helvetii to pass. Nothing daunted, the emigrant army made several vigorous attempts to force a way; but, failing in this, they at last gave up the route, and obtained permission from the Seguani to enter Gaul through their territories, by traversing the Jura passes. Cæsar, having shown already how quickly he could construct fortifications, now exhibited marvellous rapidity as a general in the field. Leaving his legate Labrinus with the forces already at Geneva, he hurried into Italy, where he mustered two legions, and took three more from winter quarters at Aguileia, and with these five (30,000 men) he quickly marched by the shortest route to come up with the enemy, whose main army he eventually overtook, after several minor engagements with detached bodies, as they were crossing the river Arar (Saone); and, lastly, falling upon a large number who had not yet crossed, he completely destroyed them. Those who first fell were the Tigurini, members of the particular *pagus* that some fifty years before had been chiefly the cause of the defeat

and slaughter of Cassius's army, and thus those who were the foremost in bringing disgrace to the Roman army were the first to pay the penalty of Rome's vengeance. Immediately after his victory, Cæsar built a bridge (doing the whole work in one day) and led his troops across the Arar. This reverse, coupled with the extraordinary rapidity of Cæsar's movements, greatly alarmed the Helvetii, and induced them to send ambassadors, headed by the aged though still fiery and energetic Diviko, begging him to retire and allow them peaceably to take possession of some portion of Gaul to be mutually agreed upon. As, however, Cæsar insisted as a preliminary to terms on the Helvetii returning to their country, furnishing hostages for their future good conduct, and giving substantial compensation for the damage already done, the interview led to no results. At the demand for hostages, Diviko's old fiery spirit blazed out when he haughtily told Cæsar that "The Helvetii had been so trained by their ancestors that they were accustomed to receive, not to give, hostages, as the Roman people knew to their cost." Then began a remarkable march between the two hosts, the Helvetii hastening forwards and the Romans following, and by constantly harassing their rear trying to bring about a general engagement. After pursuing these tactics for fifteen days, Cæsar found his provisions running short, and therefore diverted his route and marched quickly upon the town of Bibracte. At this time Bibracte (afterwards known as Augustodunum, the modern Autun) was an important town of the Œduii, on the Aroux, in Burgundy, and a great centre for traffic in corn. The change of front led the enemy to believe the Romans were at last seized with fear, and were

retreating; and, acting upon this belief, they also turned, and commenced a furious onslaught against Cæsar's troops, who occupied a slightly rising ground in the neighbourhood of the town, and were drawn up, as was their custom, in three lines. Long and doubtful remained the issue of the battle, till at last the superior tactical skill of the great Roman general, combined with the sturdy bravery and discipline of his men, proved too strong for even the enormous odds and savage heroism of the barbarous foes. Repulsed by the fighting of the legions and the showers of Roman *pila*, thrown with unerring aim and terrible effect from the heights above them,[1] they first broke and then fell back on their lines of wagons, where were their wives and children. No sooner did the backward movement of the now thoroughly disorganised ranks of the Helvetii begin than the Romans, leaving the ground they had so long and so bravely held, rushed down upon the enemy, and a fearful slaughter ensued. After the battle a body of Helvetii, numbering some 130,000, effected their escape and reached the country of the Lingones, where they were followed three days later and compelled, as the price of their lives, to deliver up their arms and return to their country, and to give hostages for their future good conduct. While the negotiations were in progress, some 6,000 of the tribe of the *Verbigenii* managed to escape under cover of the night, but were soon captured and, *pour encourager les autres*, were all put to the sword. This instance of what was not looked upon as exception-

Battle of Bibracte, 58 B.C.

1 The pilum, or javelin, two of which were carried by each Roman soldier to throw or use as a spear, was about 6 feet 9 inches in length. The iron head alone was 4½ feet in length, and barbed. To the possession of this formidable weapon many of the Roman victories were chiefly due.

able cruelty in Cæsar's time is interesting as compared with modern ideas concerning the value of life. After the massacre the remnants of the Helvetian hosts sorrowfully returned to their country under strict commands from Cæsar to rebuild their towns and villages, and never again to venture beyond their mountain frontiers. Being entirely without provisions, the Allobroges were ordered by Cæsar to provide them with the necessary corn for their support. This latter act of clemency was due less to feelings of humanity towards Cæsar's fallen foe, than to a wish to prevent the Germans from occupying Helvetia and entering Italy, as they doubtless would soon have done were the country left unoccupied or only with a few weak and starving inhabitants. Among the spoils captured in the camp of the Helvetii was found a list, drawn up in Greek, of the names of all the members forming the expedition, from which it appears that out of the total of 368,000 men, women, and children, 263,000 were *Helvetii*, and of the rest 32,000 were *Boii*, 23,000 *Rauraci*, 14,000 *Latobrigi*, and 36,000 *Tulingi*.

57 B.C. In the following year Cæsar, wishing to make his victory complete, entrusted to his Lieutenant, Sergius Galba, the task of subduing the tribes of the Veragri and Seduni, inhabitants of districts in the present Canton Valais. This was accomplished after an obstinate resistance, and a severe defeat of the tribes at Octodurum (Martigny), and after several important towns had been destroyed. A road was then built to connect the Valais districts with Rome, and all Helvetia was formally converted into a Roman province, though in many parts the right of being governed by native magistrates was conceded.

The remaining portion of Switzerland, Rhætia, was not conquered till some forty years later, and then only in consequence of the turbulence of its people and the daring character of their marauding excursions into northern Italy. In one of these expeditions they burnt Como and penetrated as far as Milan, the news of which reaching Rome the then Emperor, Octavianus Augustus, at once despatched two armies, under Drusus and Tiberius Nero, to punish the invaders and conquer their country. Drusus crossed the Alps and descended the valley of the Inn, whilst Tiberius made an attack in the neighbourhood of the Lacus Brigantinus (Lake of Constanz). After a desperate and heroic defence, in which even the women and children joined, and valiantly gave their lives for the independence of their country, the whole of Rhætia was subdued, and henceforth occupied the position of a Roman military State, governed by a prætor resident at Curia Rhætorom (Chur). *Rhætia.*

Thus both Helvetia and Rhætia lost their independence, and for the succeeding four centuries remained subject to the Roman Empire, contributing to her armies, if not to her revenues, and being constantly obliged to submit to the presence of Roman soldiers, who sternly enforced the decrees of Rome, and exacted the most humiliating submission.

CHAPTER III

HELVETIA UNDER THE ROMANS

In the period (58-51 B.C.) during which he held supreme command in Gaul, Cæsar succeeded in bringing the whole country under the rule of Rome. The new territories thus acquired were for purposes of taxation, military service, and government, divided into three provinces, each under the control of a Roman governor. In this division Helvetia became included in the province of *Belgica*, a district extending from the Seine and the mouth of the Rhine to Lake Constanz. Rhætia, on the other hand, remained separate, and, together with the districts round the Lake of Wallenstatt up to Lake Constanz, as well as Southern Bavaria, the Tyrol, and other neighbouring lands, formed a separate province. One of the most important objects Rome never lost sight of was the formation of powerful native defences against the ever-present danger of the inroads of the Northern and Eastern nations. For this purpose it was that Cæsar hoped by re-establishing the Helvetii in their deserted country to obtain their support against the Germans. So also the Rhæti were compelled to guard the Eastern frontiers of the Empire against the vast hordes of barbarians always ready to sweep through the Tyrol and passes of that mountainous district. As one of the three men who occupy

the front rank of military genius, Cæsar's practical method of showing his opinion of the value of "buffer states" is interesting and instructive. In order to conciliate the Helvetii towards their new masters they were at first treated as allies (fæderati) rather than as conquered subjects, and were allowed to retain a large measure of their former liberty, their ancient laws (when these did not clash with those of Rome), their religion, language, customs, and their mode of government by *pagi*. This forced friendship did not, however, prevent many of the Helvetii joining the Kelts of Gaul in the attempts the latter made to regain their lost position. Gradually Rome's superior military and civil institutions took the place of those of native origin. Helvetia became a Roman province, in fact as well as in name, and with this change opens a new epoch in the history of the people. In exchange for their ancient independence and personal liberty, the Swiss during four centuries received the civilisation, religion, language and glory of Rome; they also received and too readily learned her vices and her crimes. Roman settlements began to make their appearance in many parts of the country, combining all the characteristics of the wonderful military, engineering, and artistic skill of Roman enterprise. From these settlements the new influence rapidly spread over the more fertile valleys of Helvetia, leaving the higher mountain districts alone untouched. During the reign of Augustus Cæsar two important cities were built, one on the ruins of the old Keltic settlement of Noviodunum (Nyon), and the other the *Colonia Augusta Rauracorum* (Augst). One of the chief military stations on the North was *Vindonissa* (Windisch), the main centre of

Roman Settlements.

defence against the Germans. At a later date *Aventicum* (Avenches) became a city of great importance, reaching its greatest prosperity under Vespasian and Titus, and was constituted the capital of Helvetia. Other Roman settlements were *Lausonnium* (Lausanne), *Solodurum* (Solothurn), *Aquae* (Baden, in Aargau), *Ebrodunum* (Yverdon), *Vitodurum* (Winterthur), *Orba* (Orbe), *Turicum* (Zürich), *Vibiscus* (Vevey), and many others.

Religion. With their general advance in civilisation the Helvetii discarded the primitive sombre religion of their forefathers in most localities for the more attractive form of Roman worship, with its magnificent ritual, its splendid processions, its gorgeous temples, its imposing ceremonies, and its awe-inspiring array of new deities. Deprived in great measure of the excitement of war (the chief stimulus of all savage races), the Helvetii gladly embraced the religion of their conquerors, and soon each tribe took to itself, or created, a special protecting god from the ample stores of Roman mythology. Only in the wild and more desolate retreats did the ancient forms of worship persist, and here they lingered on for many years undisturbed by outside influences. The precise period when Christianity was first introduced into Helvetia is unknown, though legend in this, as in other events, is far from silent. Its beginnings were probably small, and its progress at first slow, and it doubtless owes its introduction across the Alps to the large numbers of foreign soldiers of all

A.D. 300. nationalities, some of whom must have embraced the new faith, who formed the armies of the Rhine and the Danube. Towards the close of the second century large and flourishing Christian communities were established in many centres of the land, chief of which were those

of Aventicum, Geneva, Vindonissa, Octodurum, and Augusta Rauracorum. The first known bishops of the Helvetian Church were Paracelsus and Diogenes, of Geneva; Justinian, of Augusta (A.D. 346); and Theodore, of Octodurum (A.D. 390). Of the many early martyrs to their faith, the massacre of the Thebian Legion in Valais for refusing to sacrifice to the heathen gods, towards the end of the third century, furnished a goodly number. Of those who survived this slaughter, two, Ursus and Victor, are said to have been afterwards put to death at Solothurn, whilst Felix and his sister Regula became the patron saints of Zürich, where, at the order of Decius, they are said to have been beheaded. The claims to canonisation of these latter appear to rest chiefly on their very exceptionable behaviour immediately after their execution, when they are stated to have picked up their heads and to have walked off to a convenient spot, where they buried themselves. Great indeed was the change wrought on the character and development of the Helvetii by the unrecorded pioneers of the new faith. In the midst of a semi-barbarous and wholly hostile people, exhibiting in their daily actions the worst features of a bastard Roman mythology, and the licentious excesses of a degraded and decaying Roman civilisation, those courageous and pious men introduced, and themselves practised, the humanising tenets of the Christian creed in much of its primitive beauty and simplicity. They for the first time in history raised charity to a practical virtue from its old reproach of cowardice and vice. To the oppressed, the tortured, and the enslaved an after haven of rest and happiness was promised. Unlike their successors in more modern times (and very unlike

the present bench of bishops and college of cardinals), these early Christian guides believed it possible and right to lead the life their Founder had led, and to follow the precepts He enunciated in all their literal meaning. To them expediency was a doctrine unknown, and rather than deny or in any way moderate the faith they believed to be true to suit their surroundings, they gladly welcomed every species of persecution, and faced the most horrible forms of death with firmness. This was an age when friendly discussions on religion and eternal damnation did *not* form a portion of the accepted social customs of life; it was also an age before the erection of innumerable and hostile churches (and deities), having nothing in common save their mutual hatred and irreligious departure from original Christianity. In spite, or in consequence, of their many persecutions (and there seems little doubt they *were* persecuted most frightfully), the Christians increased rapidly in numbers and in importance, and by their teachings and example did much to lighten the heavy and joyless lives of the people, and to give them courage to pass through the many trials that surrounded and awaited them.

National Progress.

With the Roman occupation a great development in the knowledge and application of the useful and decorative arts was felt all over the country. At Aventicum an academy for general educational purposes was instituted, and schools, gymnasia, and amphitheatres soon sprang to life in almost every town. But specially were the people benefited by the improvements effected in agriculture and industrial mechanics, by the substitution of more modern methods for those of native origin, the only merit of which was often merely their age.

Agriculture in Helvetia was then in a very primitive stage, but soon improved greatly by adoption of new processes, the planting of imported vines, the change from the wooden to the iron plough, and the many other practical novelties brought in by the conquerors. The breeding of cattle and the manufacture of cheese were also improved, and it was not long before the latter produce was in great request abroad. Another industry that attracted much attention was the felling and transporting of the fir trees that grew in such vast quantities on the mountain slopes, for purposes of ship-building, down the Rhine and the Aar. The extensive and well-made roads that always marked Roman advance, passing through the chief districts, tended much to open up the country and facilitate trade and general progress. Before this period regularly constructed routes through the land were practically unknown.[1] The towns were naturally the chief centres of civilisation. Here, and in their neighbourhood, great numbers of villas belonging to wealthy Romans made their appearance, the owners of which introduced much of the business known in Rome, as well as armies of slaves to till the fields and perform the more menial domestic work.

Rome's Policy.

Though the reconstruction of the Helvetian race as effected by Cæsar had for its primary object the erecting of a firm and permanent barrier against the inflow of the Germans from across the Rhine, it soon became

1 The chief Roman roads made in Helvetia were: Over the Jura from Orba to Ariola, from Orba through Lausonnium to Geneva, from Vibiscus to Aventicum, from Aventicum through Solodurun to Augusta Rauracorum, from the latter town to Ad Fines (Pfyn), and to Brigantia, and from Italy along the Rhine and Lake Léman to Vibiscus, passing through Pennibucus (Villeneuve), then dividing into two, going north and west.

apparent that Roman legions were better able to defend the frontiers than the undisciplined native forces. A different policy was consequently inaugurated and steadily pursued. The patriotism and barbaric bravery of the people were slowly but very surely undermined and extinguished by carefully creating local jealousies, by granting special privileges to special localities, by encouraging prominent men in the different tribes to take office under the Empire, and by doing whatever was likely to destroy nationality and union. The introduction of Roman sports, gladiatorial and other public institutions, soon destroyed or changed native customs and pastimes, and added factors to alter national characteristics. The results of this policy of "*divide et impera*" were apparent in the frequent quarrels, distrust, and local jealousies that became universal, and effectually prevented any serious combination likely to prove harmful to Roman influence. Gross and luxurious tastes also took the place of the former simple living of the Helvetii, who aped the more indolent and vicious habits of their masters. Habits and customs which were already preparing the downfall of the mighty Roman Empire could not do otherwise than very injuriously affect the moral and physical life of the people of Helvetia, whose proximity to, and dependence on Rome made their country a microscopic reproduction of that empire. Moreover, disuse rusted the courage as well as the arms of the people, and the savage bravery, so long a natural characteristic, became replaced by a degrading and cringing servility to those from whom benefits might be had, or injuries expected. "The history of the deeds of their ancestors became the sole remaining glory of the Helvetii."

Whilst the Swiss were thus gradually emerging from their condition of barbarism, one of those outbursts of savage cruelty that periodically put back the progress of Roman, as of later civilisations, suddenly swept over the land. On the news of the assassination of the Emperor Galba (A.D. 69) at Rome becoming known to the large body of troops then stationed at Vindonissa, they at once proclaimed, in the name of the German army, Vitellius as Emperor, and forwarded letters to their comrades in Pannonia,[1] asking them to join in placing him on the throne. Being joined by the Thracian Legion and others, the soldiers then broke discipline and commenced plundering all they could lay their hands on. In this the Twenty-first, the notorious "Rapacious Legion," particularly distinguished itself. Amongst other acts of lawlessness the money then being conveyed to pay the Helvetian troops at Tenedo was seized. The conduct of the Roman soldiery at last became so outrageous that even the spiritless Helvetii were roused to attempt a stand against further plunder and insult. Being still unaware of the murder of Galba, and wishing to show their loyalty to him, they intercepted the letters of the troops, and arrested and imprisoned the centurion and his guard who were carrying them. Nothing could well have been fraught with greater peril than such an act; but doubtless the Helvetii believed a revolution was being fomented, and trusted to the Emperor for protection. At this time

Cæcina's Massacres, A.D. 69.

1 Pannonia constituted one of the most important of the several Roman provinces. It was bounded on the north by the Danube, on the south by Illyrium and Moesia, and on the west by the Julian Alps. It included the districts along the Danube from Vienna, the Eastern portions of Austria, Carriola and Carinthia, part of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia and Bosnia.

Aulus Cæcina, one of the legates of Vitellius, had just entered Helvetia, on his way to Italy, with an army of 30,000 men. On learning that a Roman centurion had been arrested by the Helvetii he at once marched to his rescue. Cæcina is described by Tacitus as a blood-thirsty, ferocious commander, delighting in slaughter, who simply made the act of the Helvetii a pretext for gratifying his taste for war. And right well he sustained his reputation. On his progress he laid waste the whole country, pillaging and destroying every town and village he passed, and slaughtering thousands of the unfortunate, unresisting inhabitants. Amongst other places he burned was the important town of Aquae (Baden), then, as now, renowned for its thermal springs. The helpless peasants, driven to desperation, tried to face the Romans; but, being without arms, discipline, or cohesion, were easily defeated and slaughtered wholesale. Some few escaped to the mountains, but, being pursued by Cæcina's German and Thracian auxiliaries, strengthened by Rhætian cohorts, were nearly all massacred. Cæcina, incensed at this show of resistance, marched against the capital, Aventicum, whence the terrified citizens sent a deputation offering an unconditional surrender and begging the general to spare their lives. This request Cæcina granted, after ordering the execution of Julius Alpinus, one of the principal Helvetian chiefs, a man much respected and honoured by everyone. Having somewhat slaked his thirst for blood, Cæcina rested awhile from further slaughter. This was apparently more from fatigue than mercy, as he next sent messengers to the new Emperor, then in Gaul, asking permission to destroy the whole of the people of Helvetia. The news spread fast and roused the remnant of the

miserable Helvetii to make a final effort to save their lives. A deputation was accordingly got together and sent after Cæcina's messengers to neutralise, if possible, their presence. Admitted before Vitellius the Helvetian representatives found the Emperor surrounded by influential soldiers, who, brandishing their swords, loudly demanded the complete extermination of the helpless people. With difficulty were they prevented from beginning the slaughter by killing the Helvetii present, whom Vitellius himself threatened and abused. After repeated and ineffectual efforts to soften their enemies, one of the Helvetian deputies, Claudius Corius, a remarkably eloquent man, concealing his rhetorical powers by a well-acted trepidation, which made his utterances the more effective, melted the hearts of the soldiery, liable as the hearts of soldiers always are to be influenced by the occurrences of the moment, and diverted them from their cruel purpose. After torrents of tears, and by repeatedly begging milder treatment, he obtained immunity, and saved the people from destruction (Tacitus). "Thus," exclaims the great Swiss historian, Müller, "through the instrumentality of a single man a whole nation was preserved." Meanwhile Cæcina continued his march to Italy, saying that the Emperor himself would deal with the fate of the people. Through the forced clemency of Vitellius those left by his legate's butcheries were enabled to recover from their calamities and again attempt to improve themselves and their country.

Aventicum.

During their much-needed rest, the people made great and rapid progress in civilisation, in which they were largely assisted by the favour of the succeeding Emperor, Vespasian, who took the Helvetii under his

special protection. Through him many towns rose to considerable importance. Especially was this the case with Aventicum, which was particularly singled out by the Emperor to honour the memory of his father, Sabinus, who for many years had lived there as a merchant, as had also Vespasian himself when a youth. In Aventicum he built magnificent temples, palaces, baths, and other public institutions, and presented the town with many beautiful works of art collected from abroad. He re-erected the portions of the town destroyed by Cæcina, and re-peopled it in part by establishing within its walls a colony of Roman veterans, distinguished as much for good conduct as for valour. From the number of coins found among the ruins of Aventicum, it is inferred that the mint of the country was there situated. At the period of its greatest glory, it is not improbable Aventicum was close to the Lake of Morat, which afterwards receded or was partly filled up. In acknowledgment of the many favours bestowed on Helvetia, a triumphal arch was erected to Vespasian after his death (A.D. 81) in the capital, and he was further honoured with the title of "Father of the Nation." Titus, the son and successor of this Emperor, protected, equally with his father, the Helvetii, and did his utmost to foster their industries and promote their national prosperity, as did also the Emperors Trajan (98-117), Hadrian (117-138), and Marcus Aurelius (161-180). But Roman rule and Roman society, all-powerful and brilliant as they appeared, were permeated beneath the surface by the rottenness of decay, and now, towards the close of the third century, the end of Roman supremacy was approaching, and although Rome for several decades maintained her position, indications of

the coming collapse of her world-wide influence were already becoming apparent. To selfish egoism a gross sensuality, embracing every form of the most hideous licentiousness, openly practised, and a marked decline in national pride and spirit, was now added the long-threatened danger of a great inrush of waves of northern barbarians. The policy begun by Cæsar had so far succeeded, though often with only the greatest exertions, in keeping the northern and eastern frontiers safe from the assaults of savage hordes. In A.D. 260 a large body of Germans (Allemanni) broke through the Roman defences, and devastated many districts of Helvetia, besides pillaging and partially destroying the capital, Aventicum. Rome proved too weak to repulse or expel the invaders, who settled in numbers in North-eastern Helvetia, taking possession of the lands and goods of the natives, whom they reduced to the condition of slaves. From this time the Helvetii had to prepare to receive new masters and again to lose many of their newly-acquired national characteristics.

German Invasion, A.D. 260.

In A.D. 379 another army of Northerners, the Burgundians from the shores of the Baltic, swept down upon Helvetia, and settled in the western portion on both sides of the Jura, and between this range and the River Aar and Lake Léman. Though in many ways still savages, the Burgundians had already embraced Christianity, and consequently treated the conquered people with more leniency than did the Allemanni, dividing with the original owners the lands of which they took possession.

Burgundian Invasion, A.D. 379.

In 493 the Goths, already masters of Italy, moved northwards, and conquered and took the Rhætian territories. Though Christians, like the Burgundians, they

The Goths, A.D. 493.

were less advanced in civilisation, and treated the natives much in the same way as did the Germans. Except in occasional instances, the power of Rome was too thoroughly crushed to allow her to offer any real resistance to the ever-coming masses of Northern savages that deluged her empire in blood, and Helvetia and Rhætia in the general overthrow found themselves free from their old masters, but under the rule of new and very different ones in every particular. The history of the people accordingly enters another epoch.

CHAPTER IV

THE ALLEMANNI AND BURGUNDIANS

The Allemanni, or German invaders, of the third century were of uncertain race; but probably, as the name implies, a mixed people of different tribes (*Alle*, all, *männer*, men). Theories, as numerous as they are opposed, have for many years been propounded as to their origin; but, though many of these are both interesting and ingenious, they are theories and nothing more. From the centre of Germany the Allemanni extended north and south for an unknown but certainly considerable distance between the Rhine and the Danube, and then, crossing the mountains, spread over Italy as far as Ravenna. In the fifth century they were firmly settled in Eastern and Northern Helvetia, and in Alsatia as far as the Vosges.

On their first invasion of Switzerland the Allemanni did not penetrate far into the south, settling chiefly in the north-eastern districts, their principal object being to wrest Gaul from the Romans. As a people they were devoted to war, hunting and agriculture, and despised all fixed habitations and the luxuries of town life. They were essentially warrior-farmers, and lived for the most part in large and separated homesteads (*Einzelhöfe*). At one time more than three thousand of such homesteads, with cultivated fields and farm-buildings attached, occupied the districts of the modern Canton of Zürich, besides twelve villages and

A.D. 260.

a hundred hamlets. The conquered lands were divided into districts (*Gauen*) and sub-districts, each with its own form of government, under the rule of an officer chosen by the people from among the nobles (*Edelinge*). In times of war or national emergency all united under an elected chief (*Herzog*). The lands were divided between the nobles and the freedmen according to the size of each family and the number of cattle each possessed, whilst the original owners were reduced to slavery and compelled to do the hardest and most menial work. In their settlements a large tract of land was usually set apart to supply wood and grazing ground for the community (*Allmend*). From the first, society was sharply and clearly divided into the "free" and the "unfree." In religion the new-comers were pagans, worshipping their god Odin, to whom it was their custom to sacrifice with offerings of beer and horses on the shores of the lakes. They resisted the influence of Christianity and civilisation longer than any of the other barbarian nations that conquered Helvetia, and lived and ruled by the right of might alone.[1] Popular assemblies of the freedmen met at intervals to discuss and decide upon all matters of national concern, as well as for religious, judicial, and other purposes. These assemblies, destroyed by later feudalism, re-appeared in Switzerland in the long-existing *Landsgemeinden*. Unlike many other con-

1 In Scandinavian traditions mention is made of an all-powerful chief, named Odin, who originally came from Asia, conquered Scandinavia, and built a city he called Sigluna, where he erected a temple and established a worship. He is regarded as the great civiliser and legislator of the north, and is believed by many authorities to have arrived from the East about 60 B.C.

querors settling in a new land, the Allemanni were neither absorbed by, nor did they develop many of, the characteristics of the natives. With the advent of the invaders came new manners, customs, language and religion that almost completely destroyed those of the Roman-Helvetia people.

Though the Empire was fast tottering to its final fall, several revivals of Rome's former military greatness took place. Of these the most important were between the years A.D. 278 and 301, when she was at constant war with the Germans. During the reign of A.D. 301. the Emperor Constantius Chlorus (291-306) the invaders were frequently defeated and obliged to retire somewhat further north. The most decisive of these defeats occurred near Vindonissa, where immense numbers of the barbarians were slain. After this victory, the better to guard against further advances, the Emperor fortified the City of Ganodurum (near Constanz), which he re-named Constantia.

Further defeats were inflicted at the hands of A.D. 337. Constantine the Great (306-337), after which peace was maintained till the Emperor's death, when the Allemanni again succeeded in extending their territories. From 356 to 361 they were often routed with great A.D. 361. slaughter by Julian, as also by Valentinian (365-375). All this long period was little better than a record of battles and general bloodshed, in which between the contending forces immense numbers of the unfortunate Helvetii perished, either by the sword or from famine and disease. In the middle of the 5th century the Germans had so far got the upper hand that they were able to spread over the western portions of Helvetia as far as Geneva.

Here, however, they came in contact with the Franks, by whom they were defeated in a great battle with immense loss in A.D. 496. The most important result of the contest was that the Allemanni were compelled to embrace Christianity and submit to the Frankish king, Clodewig (hence *Clovis* and *Louis*). This introduction of a new faith appears to have been a matter of pure chance to both contending sides, as before the battle Clodewig himself vowed to become a Christian in the event of his gaining the victory. Many of the Allemanni, refusing to accept their conqueror as sovereign, made good their escape, and sought refuge in the mountainous regions of Helvetia and Rhætia.

The Burgundians.

Nothing is known for certain as to the origin of the Burgundians, though the weight of evidence points to the probability of their being Kelts who passed into Germany from the shores of the Baltic. Many authorities consider them to have been Sclaves or Wendes, or Vandals from the Vistula. Be this as it may, in or about the year A.D. 406 they crossed the Rhine and penetrated far into Gaul. There they founded a kingdom in the territories occupied by the Aedui, Sequani, and other tribes forming the Roman province of Gallia Longdunensis, thus taking in the whole of South-eastern France as far as the Rhône and the Loire, and the plains at the base of the Alps, formerly inhabited by the Allobroges, including the town and neighbourhood of Geneva, and modern Savoy. After several encounters with the Romans a semi-peace was made, whereby the Burgundians engaged to defend the Empire against the attacks of other invaders. According to Orosius, Gunthalan, their chief, together with most of his followers, became a convert to Christianity in 417,

A.D. 406.

through the missionary labours of an aged Roman Bishop. In 450, Attila, king of the Huns, "the scourge of God," swept on his conquering and destroying career through Western Europe, across the Burgundian lands, slaughtering the people wholesale. Though offering a heroic opposition, the Burgundians were entirely unable to withstand the fanatical savages, and, besides losing their leader, suffered defeat whenever they gave battle. The Huns, however, a people of hunters, passed on, destroying all human habitations, and carrying away the people into captivity, leaving behind a long and dismal track of devastation until Ætius, assisted by the Franks and other German settlers in Gaul, utterly routed them in a memorable battle in the *Catalauni campi*, or plains of Châlons (Vieusseux). In this encounter 300,000 men are believed to have been slain. To the Burgundians the Romans assigned the district of Sabaudia (Savoy), on the condition that they should protect both Gaul and Italy from the attacks of the Allemanni. As time went on the Burgundians pushed forward into modern Valais, Freyburg, and other districts in Helvetia. They blended with the people, and readily assimilated the existing Roman civilisation, language and laws.

Attila, A.D. 450.

A.D. 451.

A succession of kings, of whom Gundicarm was the first, reigned over the Burgundians, and kept up a constant war with the Allemanni, Franks, and other neighbouring nations. Later kings were Gundenchus, his four sons, Gundobald, Godegisilus, Chilperic and Godemar. The latter two, according to Gregory of Tours, were killed by their brother Gundobald, who then divided the kingdom with Godegisilus, and settled at Geneva, Gundobald himself ruling at Lyons. In 500, Clovis, king of the Franks, attacked and defeated Gun-

The Franks, A.D. 500.

dobald, owing to the treachery of the latter's brother, who deserted him during the battle. Peace followed, and Gundobald, who was now an expert fratricide, found an excuse in his brother's conduct to put him also to death, and take possession of the whole kingdom. This resolute and ambitious assassin was in religion an Arian Christian, and played an important part in the stirring and acrimonious theological disputes of his time.

A.D. 516. He died in 516, and was succeeded by his son Sigismund, who, unlike his father, became a pronounced orthodox Catholic. In character he was weak, and allowed himself to be greatly influenced by those around him; but, nevertheless, he did one notable thing in his reign by publishing a book of laws. This embodiment of a collection he made of the laws and customs of the nation, though naturally crude and imperfect, is probably the first legal system in a codified form amongst the forefathers of the Swiss, and doubtless proved beneficial to the people. As an instance of the weak and vicious side of his character, Sigismund allowed himself to be instigated by his second wife to put his son by his former wife to death. Filled with remorse, he then retired into the monastery of St. Maurice, which he endowed and otherwise greatly benefited. Whilst in seclusion the Franks, under the command of King Clodomir, attacked

A.D. 524. his kingdom, captured Geneva in 524, and then, seizing the penitent monarch, his murderous wife and his children, beheaded them all at Geneva. Clodomir himself was killed shortly afterwards in battle by Godemar, Sigismund's brother and successor, who maintained the war for ten years, when, at the battle

A.D. 534. of Digon in 534, he was defeated and killed by the surviving brother of Clodomir. By the death of

Godemar, this royal vendetta came to an end, and the kingdom of Burgundy lost its independence, being converted into a subject province of the Franks, ruled by numerous separate governors.

Longobards, A.D. 570.

After these events the southern valleys of Helvetia were invaded by the Longobards from the plains of Northern Italy (570). These Longobards (from the Teutonic *lang*, long; *bart*, beard) appear to have lived originally east of the Elbe, towards the Baltic, and, during the 3rd and 4th centuries, to have followed the general southern movement of the Northern nations. In A.D. 568, under the command of Albon, they crossed the Julian Alps near Forum Julii, and conquered the fertile plains of Lombardy. In 575, being without a leader, the nation split up into sections, each ruled by a Duke, who governed a separate district, as Pavia, Treto, Bergamo, etc. Under these Dukes the Longobards conquered Umbria, Tuscany and Liguria.

Results.

From this period may be dated the disappearance of the old Helvetian languages and the introduction of German over the greater portion of the country. In the neighbourhood of Neuchâtel and Geneva the Gallo-Roman dialects held their ground; from these arose by slow degrees modern French. The Burgundians, on the other hand, so amalgamated with the conquered race that they became Romanised, both in speech and customs. From the time of these settlements in Helvetia may also be traced for the first time something like a regular system of organised society.

The different social grades, at first indistinct, became gradually pronounced, and of these the nobles ranked next to the King, whilst beneath them were the common freedmen, or freedmen who could be tenants

but not freeholders, and, lowest of all, territorial serfs. After the death of a Burgundian his property was equally divided amongst his children, as at the present time. The only occupations not derogatory to a freedman were fighting in time of war, and agriculture in time of peace, all other work being performed by the serfs. Most of the useful arts made progress under Burgundian rule, especially agriculture and the cultivation of the vine, which during the troublous times of the invasions had been necessarily much neglected. With the spread of Christianity monasteries sprang up in many parts of the country, forming centres for piety, learning and work. Indeed, work and piety came to be looked upon as inseparable. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the introduction of Christianity upon the natural character of these ancestors of the modern Swiss. It found the vast mass of the people steeped in the deepest depths of wretchedness, without hope of amelioration of their lot in this world, and with nothing to look forward to after death, which was usually their only friend. The doctrines of the monks appealed forcibly to the imagination of the poorest and most abused classes. These were the very classes singled out for instruction in the new gospel, whilst the tyrannical and proud nobility were fearlessly attacked with menaces of Divine wrath. To the thousands of miserable serfs the doctrine of the equality of all men before the all-powerful Judge of all the world must indeed have brought a marvellous change. For centuries they had been taught to believe they were essentially inferior to those that birth or fortune had set over them. Though Christianity did not succeed in doing away with serfs—

they were even held in large numbers by the monastic authorities—their condition was greatly improved, and their masters no longer tortured and put them to death for trivial offences, and even severe punishment was seldom unjustly inflicted. Feudalism also, as seen in Switzerland, dates from the settlement in the country of the Northern races, and owes its origin to the new and distinct class-cleavages they established, and the necessities of the times created.

CHAPTER V

SWITZERLAND UNDER THE FRANKS

A.D. 539-920.

THE Franks (or free-men) were a confederation of a number of Teutonic tribes, each retaining its independence and having its special king, and all claiming a common ancestor, Meroveus (*Meer wig*, sea warrior) from whom they carried the title of Merovingians. The fourth century found them already settled on the right bank of the Rhine from its junction with the Main as far as the sea. They afterwards extended their territories, and in the fifth century were spread over the greater part of Gaul. During the reign of Clovis, king of the Salian section of the Franks, a

A.D. 480.

settlement was made in 480, at Tournay. From this town he subdued a large portion of Gaul, embracing the country lying between the Rhine, the Rhône, the

A.D. 511.

Loire, and the sea. Clovis died in 511.

Merovingian dynasty, A.D. 536-752.

On Switzerland passing under the rule of the Merovingian kings, the country was parcelled out into a number of sections, over each of which a Frankish noble reigned as Duke or Governor.[1] The portion

1 These several Governors bore different names in different provinces. A *Duke* governed lower Burgundy, a *Patrician* administered the districts in the mountains, together with the Valais, the Pays de Venice, the Uchtland, and part of the Aargau; another *Duke* presided over the Allemanni, and a *President* over Rhætia—(Planta).

formerly belonging to Burgundy became Transjurane Burgundy, that belonging to the Allemanni between the Aar and the Rhine, Allemannia; Rhætia retained her old name. This division is still apparent in the racial characteristics of the people, in their language and in their customs; modern French Switzerland corresponding to the Burgundian portion, while the German States occupy the country of the Allemanni.

The people of the Canton of Ticino, then as now, were essentially Italian, while the geographical conditions of Rhætia have allowed her inhabitants to retain, in a greater degree than elsewhere, the purity of their ethnic characteristics and tongue. That the Kelto-Roman natives of ancient Switzerland were either completely exterminated or their racial peculiarities absorbed and lost in those of their conquerors, as is now so generally stated, is an opinion certainly unwarranted by the mode of actions of the laws that govern heredity, and the growth and life of nations. The Keltic stock was, doubtless, modified and considerably improved in strength by the many racial baptisms it received from its more muscular correlates, at a period of impending national collapse from enervation. After the reinvigoration the infusion of new blood created, the nervous and refining influences characteristic of the Keltic race began to show through the more animal features of the resulting nation, and have steadily progressed in force and prominence down to the present time, when, in Switzerland, as elsewhere throughout Western Europe, the re-emergence of the predominating conditions that form the mental and physical peculiarities of the Kelts is now fully established, that make them the bravest, the most

intellectual, energetic, active and sensitive of the children of men.

Whilst the Allemanni were treated as a conquered race, the Burgundians succeeded in maintaining their national distinctions by obtaining from the Franks at the time of their submission, a treaty whereby it was stipulated that they (the Franks) should always bear the title of Kings of Burgundy, and as such should receive the services formerly rendered to the ancient dynasty. The people nevertheless retained all their individual rights and their national laws, and were not held liable to serve in the wars except as distinct bodies of troops. In many of the more inaccessible mountain districts the people boldly refused to submit to the new order of things, and left the country in large numbers to act as local mercenary troops in other lands. Ten thousand Burgundians assisted the
A.D. 538. Ostrogoths in 538 in besieging Milan, and played a prominent part in its subsequent sacking, when every male inhabitant, including the children, was slaughtered, the clergy even being put to the sword before the church altars, and the women being carried away prisoners. This terrible wholesale massacre was due, in great measure, to the fanatical and blood-thirsty rivalries of the Catholic and Arian factions that were then bringing Christianity into discredit.

A.D. 555. In or about 555, a mixed horde of 70,000 Allemanni and other tribes devastated the greater part of Italy. On their return they were met by Justinian's General, Narses, on the Campanian plains, and by him were totally defeated, losing nearly their whole number. Other bands of Burgundians and Allemanni sought service in neighbouring countries,

or made predatory excursions on their own account, in order to avoid Frankish rule, or to find a vent for their natural love of fighting and plunder.

For nearly four hundred years Helvetia remained under her new conquerors. During this period, with few and brief intervals of repose, the foreign and domestic wars, the cruelties of her local governors, and her own frequent revolts, cause her history to be little else than one long story of bloody tragedies and general misery.

The possession of landed property constituted the chief, if not the only basis of power and wealth, and this by theft and threats soon came into a very limited number of hands. Each of the provinces over which a Duke or Governor ruled was divided into a series of *hundreds* (*centenæ*), constituted of a like number of farms or manors, or families of freedmen. The heads of these were held responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and were supervised by a constable or *centenarius*, who periodically held a court for the trial of offences and civil disputes within his district, very analogous to the old hundred courts of England. Over collections of these districts Counts ruled, and over these again was the Provincial Governor. Doubtful cases were often referred to the "ordeal by fire or water," or to combats between the interested parties. The kingly power in time of peace was little, if at all, above that of his nobles; but in war his authority became absolute, including the supreme command over the army, which was made up practically of the whole fighting force of the country. As the system of paying troops did not then exist, the soldiers, or rather those who were freedmen, relied entirely upon the spoils of victory for their com-

pensation, which usually took the form of a land grant (*allodium*) from the conquered country. Another form of land grant was that known as *beneficium*, for special service, which carried with it the duties of a vassal by the grantee of "suit and service." These latter grants were at first only held at the pleasure of the grantor, but in 587 the Burgundian nobles succeeded in compelling the King to make them for life. Shortly before this change they had obtained a concession making thirty years' possession equivalent to a title; later on, these privileges became extended to make them hereditary.

"The laws partook of the rudeness of the period, and were few in number; these, however, were tolerably intelligible, and consisted less in commands than in prohibitions. The main object was protection of property, for in those ages theft was viewed with more abhorrence than murder, since even a coward can make himself master of things unarmed and inanimate. This abhorrence of the cowardly crime of theft went so far that, according to the Saxon law, a horse-stealer was punished with death; while a money fine would expiate even the murder of a nobleman. The judge who let a robber escape was proceeded against as guilty of a capital crime. Whoever accepted a secret composition for theft was punished equally with the thief. Whoever was charged by five impartial witnesses with theft must die. Hardly any other crime besides theft was punished with death, but treason and breach of trust. Most crimes had their money price; by which a double advantage was given to the rich over the poor, as the penalty was proportioned to the rank of the person against whom acts of violence (then the most frequent

Laws.

crimes) were committed, and was calculated thus in an inverse ratio to the pecuniary abilities of the payer, while non-payment entailed the loss of personal freedom, and degradation to the state of feudal bondage. The rudiments of trial by jury existed at this period. Apprehension of the abuse of evidence, or rather ignorance of its use, introduced appeals to the judgment of God through the medium of the ordeal. . . . Deceptions, which were only too easy, threw doubts at length on the aptitude of this instrument of justice ; but, when once the path of reason has been swerved from, men only glide from one absurd aberration into another. Single combat now superseded the ordeal, as a method of proof less easily eluded ; a method of which the vogue is not surprising at a period when irregular vindications of right by *voies de fait* were so frequent. Women, and others unable to bear arms, were, in general, permitted to procure capable substitutes. These and similar modes of trial were, at least, not worse than the torture, and those other inhumanities which in later times were introduced in the nations of German origin from the laws of other lands, and through the spiritual tribunals" —(Lardner).

Most of the monarchs who filled the Merovingian throne were cruel and tyrannical despots, or weak and colourless symbols of kingly authority, governed by the stronger or more brutal minds of those around them. Amongst these latter the person holding the office of Mayor of the Palace (*Major Domûs*) was the most important, and as time went on he often appears as the possessor of considerably more practical power than the King, exercising all the authority of the Monarch and acting as leader of the army. The intrigues and

Mayors of Palace.

influence of a major domûs eventually caused the dissolution of the Merovingian dynasty and brought about the appearance of Charlemagne on the throne as the sovereign of the greater part of Western Europe.

Gontran.

One of the few exceptions in the long list of tyrannical or feeble kings who proved himself both strong and just in his government, was Gontran, son of Clotarius I., who ruled the whole Frankish empire as sole sovereign. Gontran on his father's death succeeded to the territories of Orleans and Burgundy, his brothers, Clarebert, Sigebert and Chilperic, governing

A.D. 561.

the other portions of the dominions. He greatly encouraged the little learning that then existed, and by building asylums for the poor and hostelries for travellers, as well as by reconstructing the old Roman roads, did much to promote commerce and to infuse a more humanising spirit into the lives of his subjects. In order the better to restrain the growing power and turbulence of his nobles, he divided Orleans and Burgundy into two districts, and forcibly insisted upon the maintenance of his authority. Under his rule the

A.D. 574.

frequent incursions of the Longobards in the vicinity of Lake Léman were checked by the military precautions he devised, and in 574 he succeeded in completely routing them at Bex, with the loss of many thousands. His reign was further signalised by the appearance in Helvetia of several men of great ability and sterling goodness. Amongst them was Marius, Bishop of Lausanne, whose pious and brilliant career showed him a worthy successor, if not an actual descendant, of the early Apostles. When not engaged in his ecclesiastical functions, he spent his time in ministering to the poor and the sick, in trying to improve the

material condition of those most requiring assistance, and in writing the chronicles of his times.

Clotarius II. A.D. 613-628.

Another Merovingian king who left his mark on the age was Clotarius II. Though greatly under the influence of his minister, the Mayor of the Palace, he possessed undoubtedly a firm and upright disposition, and sincere wish to benefit his people. Amongst his other progressive acts he convoked in 615 a general assembly of the chief lay and clerical personages of the kingdom at Paris, in order to reform the many glaring abuses that had crept into both the Church and the Administration. At this meeting, which combined the functions of a parliament and a synod, and was styled the "Fifth Council of Paris," and which amongst its prominent men numbered seventy-nine bishops, several salutary laws were enacted, regulating the election and consecration of bishops and relating to Church discipline generally. No exemption was in future allowed to offenders against the laws on account of their holding Church offices, and for their trial a special court was instituted, composed of lay and clerical judges. Death was decreed as the punishment for seduction; no one was to be condemned, not even a slave, without first being heard in his defence, and no one, no matter how high his position, was to exceed the limits laid down by the law in his judgment on others, or himself to be exempt from the laws. The vows of nuns were declared irrevocable; no Jew could bring an action against a Christian, and no Christian was permitted to carry on usurious transactions. All freedmen were entitled to be judged by their peers, and no judge, other than a native of the place where the cause arose, was competent to try a case.

Fifth Council of Paris, A.D. 615.

After the death of Clotarius, a short period of peace and prosperity followed during the reign of his successor Dagobert, *le bon roi*, under whose fostering encouragement trade and commerce greatly improved. Owing to this and the more settled state of the laws, the general wealth and happiness of the people immensely increased. After the close of Dagobert's reign the country had for kings a succession of weak and luxury-loving *rois fainéants*, whose actions were ruled, and whose policy was directed, by the all-powerful Mayors of the Palace. Some of these degenerate kings were murdered, others were deposed or imprisoned in convents, whilst others passed their indolent lives in obscurity and vice, unknown and quite unconnected with the office they were supposed to direct.

Dagobert A.D. 628-638.

Within a period of forty years no less than six monarchs died by poison or the sword. In or about the year 600 a great impetus was given to the spread of Christianity by the arrival in Helvetia of a party of Irish monks, headed by Columbanus and Gallus, belonging to the large body of early Christians called Culdees, who then, and for a century or so before, were living in Ireland, Wales, and the West and North of Scotland and the neighbouring isles.[1] After leaving their native lands

Culdee Monks, A.D. 600.

1 The Culdees (*Cultores Dei*, worshippers of God) were quite independent of Rome, having their own government, hierarchy, and discipline, and their own peculiar forms of doctrine and ritual. In Ireland their chief settlement was at Armagh, which remained till the Reformation. They introduced their special form of Christianity into Iceland (Erse, *Ceile de*, servant of God) and, under the name of *Papar*, Culdeeism flourished for many centuries in the Orkneys, Shetland and Faroes. With the exception of the creed of the Waldenses, this ancient cult was the only one that stood apart from Rome from the early days of the Christian era till the Reformation.

in 590, the little band wandered through France and Burgundy teaching religion and agriculture to the people, and undergoing many persecutions from the nobility. They eventually, in 610, obtained permission from Theodebert, King of Austrasia, to enter Helvetia and A.D. 610. preach the gospel to the Allemanni. Traversing the whole country, Columbanus, Gallus, and their pious followers fearlessly preached their faith, often with great peril to their lives amongst the semi-savage mountaineers, many of whom still retained the pagan forms of worship. Especially was this the case amongst the scattered inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Lake Wallenstadt, where Christianity had made little or no progress. Here the Culdee missionaries boldly destroyed the idols of Odin, and burned down a large temple erected in his honour. At first the people, filled with indignation and righteous zeal for their ancient religion, complained to the Governor and threatened death to the missionaries; but soon a reaction set in, and the further progress of the monks was attended with the greatest enthusiasm, and vast numbers of the people, as well as many influential leaders, were baptised and joined the Church. To the efforts of these monks was due the building of several important monasteries in different parts of the country, notably St. Gallen,[1] Disentis in

"Ultima Thule," note by Dr. Charwoch; "Jamieson's History of Culdees," etc. A Latin chronicle of the 8th century, written by a monk of St. Gallen, and entitled "Vita Sancti Galli," describes the work and wanderings of the Irish missionaries in Allemannia

1 That this celebrated Abbey owed its origin to the Culdee missionaries seems most probable, though amongst historical authorities great diversity of opinion exists on the subject. Several MSS. marked *Scotice scripti*, found among the ancient archives of the library, are believed to have been written by the early Culdee

Rhætia, and Sechinger in the Frickthal, besides innumerable churches and shrines. To them also belongs the honour of finally stamping out the worship of Odin, and of converting the Germans, who had for so long withstood Christianity.

Columbanus. In 613 Columbanus left Gallus in charge of the mission, and travelled to Lombardy in order to extend his labours. Here he died in 615, after doing much good work, and founding several monasteries. Gallus continued to persevere with his task in Allemannia with the utmost zeal, confining himself principally to the wildest and poorest amongst the mountaineers in the neighbourhood of Lake Constanz. He died in 646, and, like his brother missionary, Columbanus, received the honour of posthumous canonisation.

Close of the Dynasty, A.D. 742. The Merovingian dynasty was at length brought to an end by the machinations of a powerful Court favourite, Pepin-le-bref, who long exercised complete control over the feeble occupant of the throne, Childeric *Charles Martel.* III. (742). Pepin was the son of Charles Martel, Mayor of the Palace, and succeeded through his father's influence and his own intriguing abilities in gaining first

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monks, the monastery being supposed to have been built some forty years after the death of Gallus, under the auspices of Pepin of Heerstal. Swiss historians usually state that Gallus himself founded the building, though according to the account of his life given in Butler's classical work, the edifice was in existence when the Saint settled in Helvetia about 600; Vulliemin gives the credit of its foundation to Othmar in 730; Dauget cites the cell in which Gallus lived as its origin. According to other authorities the building actually commenced in 700, and was paid for by the liberal offerings given by the faithful in their pilgrimages to the shrine erected over the cell occupied by Gallus. It is also generally believed that St. Gallen was raised to the position of an Abbey in 720, when it adopted the rules of the Benedictines.

the support of the chief clergy and nobles, and finally in dethroning Childeric, and having himself proclaimed King. He received the royal crown from the hands of Pope Stephen II., at St. Denis, in 752.

Carlovingian Dynasty, A.D. 752-843.

The new line of Frankish kings is known as the Carlovingian dynasty, from the brilliant career of Karl, the second monarch and son of Pepin, who excelled immeasurably all his successors in intellectual attainments, and completely dwarfed the memory of the vast majority of the Merovingian monarchs. Pepin signalised his short reign by adding greatly to the number of the monasteries, and suppressing many of the powerful local rulers, who, through their extortions and mismanagement, constantly kept the people in a state of open or suppressed revolt. In their places he installed Frankish Counts who were attached to his interests, and whose conduct he was better able to control. On Pepin's death in 768 the kingdom passed to his two sons, Karl, known in history as Charlemagne, and Karlomann. The death of the latter (believed by many to have been caused by poison given at the instigation of his brother) left the whole realm under the sole rule of Charlemagne.

Pepin-le-bref, A.D. 752-768.

Charlemagne, A.D. 768-814.

Compared with the reign of his son and successor, Charlemagne's rule exhibits an instructive lesson how, with practically the same resources, by means of a firm and just administration, and in spite of many errors, if not crimes, a bold and capable prince can raise both himself and his people to the first place of importance and prosperity; whilst a weak and incapable ruler, swayed more by his personal vicious selfishness than by a wish to benefit his subjects, can sink himself and them to a condition of contemptible disgrace.

As Charlemagne's many conquests abroad greatly influenced Switzerland's after history, some account of his victorious career is necessary, though amidst the vast interests at stake Switzerland, from her small size, had, of course, little to do, comparatively, with the immediate events of the reign.

A.D. 742. Born in 742 in the Castle of Satzburg, in Bavaria, the future monarch of half Europe succeeded, on ascending the throne, to the Frankish realm, composed of the whole of France, half of Germany, and the

A.D. 772. whole of modern Switzerland. From 772 to 803 he carried on a vigorous campaign against the pagan Saxons, whom he slew in thousands. In 775 he crossed the Alps by the Jura Pass to aid Pope Adrian I., then threatened by the Longobards under Desiderius; the latter he defeated and took prisoner at Pavia, and himself assumed the crown of Lombardy; shortly after he was acknowledged Suzerain of Italy by the Pope. Three years later he went to Spain, where he waged war against the Saracens, and after several important conquests in Catalonia and other districts was defeated on his way back over the Pyrenees. In

A.D. 780. 780 he again entered Germany, and, after routing the Saxons on several occasions, succeeded, by offering them the alternative of the sword or Christianity, in compelling many thousands to accept the latter and be baptised. He finally was successful in subduing the whole Saxon race, and, in order the more thoroughly to prevent them from again engaging in hostilities, imported a large number of Italians and Franks into

A.D. 800. their country. In 800 Charlemagne, having conquered the best part of Europe, was solemnly crowned Emperor of the West by Pope Leo III. at Rome—

"a solemnity which enhanced the outward dignity of his throne, but placed his feeble successors in a dangerous state of dependence on the spiritual authority, and fortified the prejudice which for ages afterwards shook the independence of thrones no less than the internal repose of nature." Charlemagne was thus master of France, Germany, the greater part of Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, Corsica, Sardinia, etc. He was on good terms with the Saxon kings of Britain and with the Emperor of Constantinople, and received embassies bearing valuable presents from the powerful Caliphs of Bagdad. In 807 he found it necessary to construct formidable fortifications against the attacks of the Normans and Danes along the coasts of France, and converted Boulogne into his chief naval station. Having already lost two of his sons, he named, in 813, his third son joint-ruler with himself of the Empire, and in the following year he expired at A.D 814 Aix-la-Chapelle. Not only was Charlemagne the first great regenerator of Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire, he was also the greatest influence for the spread of Christianity. Though an extremely ambitious monarch, his personal successes in aggrandisement led to useful ends for the people over whom he ruled, as he shone as much as a wise and liberal-minded statesman, far in advance of his times, as a bold and able soldier. He gave just and humanising laws to those he conquered, and brought order and tranquility where none before existed, though to do this he sacrificed untold numbers by the sword. He founded the German Empire by subduing and consolidating the various barbarous tribes of that country under one head, and checked the further advance of

the Saracens and Longobards. Through his influence a much-needed impetus was given to religion, education, and industry in Helvetia, where he founded many schools and religious houses, and re-introduced the cultivation of the vine in districts where it had ceased to grow through the devastating effects of the frequent wars.[1] Amid the many and gigantic enterprises of his busy life, Charlemagne yet found time personally to visit the schools and monasteries of Helvetia, in order to see that the instruction was such as he deemed right. By the laws he enacted he made a great forward move, and proved himself a bold and liberal reformer. He formulated a code of land laws that gave much greater protection to the small peasant proprietors against the rapacity and cruelty of the powerful nobles than had before existed, and conferred special privileges on those engaged in occupations that conduced to the general welfare of the country, such as the reclamation and cultivation of barren or neglected ground. Very necessary enactments against the wholesale felling of trees, that had began during the Roman epoch, were also introduced, as it was found the climate of many places was thereby already seriously modified, and large tracts rendered useless for cultivation.

1 Planta, referring to the scarcity of wine, and the preference given to beer and mead at this time, relates that the monks of St. Gallen, having received the gift of a cask, were terribly grieved on hearing it had fallen into a pit on its way to the monastery. After much anxious deliberation, all human means appearing inadequate, they sallied forth in solemn procession, marched round the pit, and sang devoutly, "Good Lord deliver us!" Full of confidence, they now made a grand and successful effort, and having safely lodged the cask in their cellars, they chanted a joyful *Te Deum;* with more reason, no doubt, adds the learned author, than we are apt to do after a bloody victory.

In his wars, Charlemagne was greatly assisted by the prowess of his Helvetian subjects, especially by the men of Luzern, Thurgau, and the Waldstätten, to whom he gave as a mark of his approbation of their bravery special privileges, and further bestowed on them those armorial bearings that in after times were destined to play so important a part in Swiss history, under the names of the Bulls of Uri, the Cows of Underwald, etc.

Louis le Débonnaire, A.D. 814-840.

On the death of Charlemagne, his son Louis, surnamed Le Débonnaire, succeeded to his father's vast dominions. For the first few years of his reign, he managed to rule in tranquility; but later on aroused the enmity of his nobles by introducing reforms tending to diminish their power. Even his sons rebelled against him, and eventually in 840 he was deposed, and died a prisoner. His death led to civil war, which, after plunging the whole country into a sea of blood, ended by the contending factions coming to an agreement, and forming a treaty at Verdum (843). By the terms of this compromise, the vast empire Charlemagne had raised fell to pieces, and was divided into three séparate kingdoms—Germany, France and Italy—under the rule of the three surviving sons of the late Emperor. Burgundian Helvetia fell to the share of Lotharius, King of Italy; the German districts came under the rule of Louis of Bavaria, who thus became the first Emperor of Germany, whilst the Western Frankish territories were given to Charles the Bald. Louis's dominions were divided from France by the Rhine, having only Mainz, Worms, and Spires on its left bank, though he afterwards obtained possession of Strasburg, Metz, Basel, Cologne, and other important centres. Louis is chiefly remembered in Swiss history

Treaty of Verdum, A.D. 843.

Louis of Bavaria, A.D. 843-876

from having founded, at Zürich, a large convent (the present Fraumünster), of which his two sisters became abbesses, as well as rulers of the surrounding territories. These consisted of the major part of the Reuss valley between Luzern and the spot where, till lately, the
A.D. 853. Devil's Bridge stood, as also of a portion of Uri (853). Over the greater part of Switzerland, however, anarchy prevailed, and the nobles, fortified in their castles, kept the country in a chronic turmoil from their struggles among themselves, and openly defied the central authority. This condition lasted nearly fifty years, and led once more to a change in the government of the country.

During the reign of the later Merovingian kings and those of the Carlovingian dynasty, feudalism was thoroughly established over Switzerland, and though the introduction of Christianity at first did much to better the lot of the poor, yet the vast mass of the people soon fell once more into a condition scarcely removed from slavery, as the nobles were usually able to rule those around their castle-forts with the greed and cruelty that signalised the age. Many districts became completely depopulated, and large tracts of land consequently were little more than deserts. In
Church Influence. those centres where the Church was sufficiently powerful, the threat of excommunication and refusal to bury acted as wholesome checks on the savagery of the nobles, and to the Church, therefore, the people looked for protection. Many of the monasteries possessed large estates, and under their rule the condition of the people was considerably better than elsewhere. The greater security, indeed, enjoyed under the protection of the Church induced many freedmen to give

up their property to the Holy Virgin, or other patron saint of an abbey. After doing so they received it back as a fief, paying a quit-rent, and becoming tenants under the Church's protection. So greatly, however, was every grade of society in those times permeated with the spirit of greed and ambition, that many instances are not wanting when the monks stretched out their holy hands and seized, either by force or cunning, the property of their neighbours, and otherwise acted much in the same way as did the secular lords.

Education, though merely in its infancy, was entirely in the hands of the Church, as were also all learning and literature. The latter consisted chiefly of chronicles of ecclesiastical history and the records of saints and miracles.[1]

The lower clergy, though in many districts little better in morals and mode of life than the licentious nobles, were the sole source of comfort to the people, harassed as the latter were by constant foreign and domestic strife, by plagues unexampled in modern times, and by extreme poverty.

Bishoprics.

Western Helvetia at this period was under the spiritual care of three Bishops. The diocese of Geneva extended to the Aubonne, that of Sion as far as the Veveyse, and that of Lausanne over Burgundian

1 A great deal of our knowledge of the history of the early Merovingian reigns is due to the chronicles of Gregory of Tours (544-593). In the year 565, according to this chronicle, as also according to Marius, a large portion of the summit of Mount Blanchard on the southern side of Lake Léman fell, burying the town of Taurelunum and occasioning an immense wave on the lake that destroyed several towns and villages, extending its effects as far as Geneva. The submerged rocks can still be seen close to St. Gingolph, nearly opposite Vevey.

Helvetia, embracing all the country between the Aar and the Jura. The Bishopric of Lausanne was at an earlier time situated at Aventicum, but towards 581 Marius, the then Bishop, transferred the See to Lausanne. The Bishop of Geneva was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Vienne, he of Sion under the Archbishop of Tarentaise, whilst the Bishop of Lausanne was the chief suffragan of the Archbishop of Besançon. German Switzerland also had three bishoprics; at Basel, Vindinossa (removed later to Constanz), and Chur. This latter prelate had spiritual charge of Rhætia. Amongst the monasteries that now began to acquire power and wealth, those of St. Gallen, Einsiedeln, St. Maurice and Dissentis became most conspicuous. In St. Gallen the chief learning of the country was centred, and here the monks preserved and industriously copied many ancient manuscripts of works relating to the fathers of the Church and ancient history, and but for their labours many a Latin work now well known would probably have been lost. On the other hand, several of these religious centres occupied themselves quite as much with the acquisition of temporal power as of religious or intellectual treasures. The Bishop of Sion acquired the governorship of the Valais, where also the convent of St. Maurice possessed great power and extensive possessions. Indeed, under the Carlovingian monarchs the clergy exercised very considerable influence in temporal matters, sanctioning or rejecting the laws and in many respects standing on an equality with the reigning King, whom they frequently publicly censured and privately governed. New laws were first submitted by the King to his council for discussion, after

which his Chancellor laid them before the Archbishops and nobles, and, these having accepted or modified them, they were discussed by the Bishops and others of the higher clergy with the *centum graves*, or judges of the hundreds' courts; these preliminaries over, the King's sanction was affixed: *lex consensu populi fit et constitutione regis.*

CHAPTER VI

THE INCORPORATION OF SWITZERLAND INTO THE GERMAN EMPIRE

A.D. 876-1020.

AMID the anarchical confusion that followed the death of the last Frankish king, three men, more powerful or more fortunate than the other contending nobles, succeeded in raising themselves from comparative obscurity to supreme power.

In that portion of Burgundy now known as Provence and Dauphiné, with part of the Lyonnois and Viennois, nothing approaching a central form of government existed; every noble contended with his neighbour, and general political and social demoralisation in consequence prevailed. Wearied at last by this useless and bloody strife, the nobles and chief clergy met at Vienne to arrange, if possible, some method of adjusting their difficulties and determining upon a supreme chief. Many and fruitless were the discussions, till at length it was decided to elect Boson, Count of Vienne, and son-in-law of the Emperor Louis II.,

A.D. 876. King of Arles and Cisjurane Burgundy (876). Louis and Karlomann (sons of the Emperor) thereupon made war against Boson as a usurper, but the latter successfully maintained his position till the death of his opponents, when Charles le Gros, the remaining son of Louis, who reunited the kingdoms of France and Germany, acknowledged his claim, and himself invested

him with the crown (884). After Boson's death Burgundy once more became divided. A.D. 884.

Whilst these events were in progress, Count Rudolph, of the House of Guelf, son of Conrad of Paris, succeeded in having himself proclaimed King of Transjurane Burgundy at a meeting of the Bishops and principal nobles convoked at St. Maurice (888). He was shortly afterwards acknowledged in Western Helvetia, as also in the territories west of the Jura, as far as the Saone, and was successful in obtaining a formal ascent to the crown at a general Diet held at Regenburg (Ratisbonne) in 890.[1] As an immediate consequence of Rudolph's elevation, he was attacked as an usurper by the German Emperor, who, after destroying many villages in Vaud, and slaying large numbers of those who opposed him (and the Helvetians appear to have fought valiantly for their new sovereign), obliged Rudolph to do homage as a vassal to his suzerain. *Rudolph I.*, A.D. 888-912.

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1 Emperors of Germany.—Louis le Débonnaire, son of Charlemagne (814-840). Louis the German, grandson of Charlemagne, created by the Treaty of Verdun Emperor of Germany (843-876). His three sons divided his Empire—Karlomann, Louis the Younger, and Charles III. (le Gros). In 884 Germany and France were united under Charles III. into one empire. In 887 the Germans revolted, and Arnulph, of Carinthia, natural son of Karlomann, was made Emperor (896-899), succeeded by his son Louis IV. (899-915). This reign ended the Carlovingian dynasty in Germany, after which the crown became elective. Conrad, Duke of Franconia (915-918). Henry I., Duke of Saxony (918-936), Otho I. (936-973), Otho II. (973-983), Otho III. (983-1002), Henry II. (1002-1024), Conrad II. (1024-1039). The latter organised the feudal system and attempted to suppress the civil strifes of the time by the establishment of the "Peace of God," or Freuga Dei, incorporated Burgundy in his empire, and inaugurated the Salic, or Frankish dynasty. Henry III. (1039-56), Henry IV. (1056-1106), Henry V. (1106-25).

The title of Emperor of Rome was first assumed by Otho I., who was crowned at Rome in 962.

Meantime Burgundy was undergoing a sub-division, which not only entirely did away with its ancient nationality, causing each portion to be swayed by distinct interests and developing separate characteristics, but led to this split-up becoming permanent. Whilst Rudolph I. governed in Upper Burgundy, Richard, brother of Boson and Count of Lower Burgundy beyond the Saone, threw off the sovereignty of the kingdom of Arles and assumed the title of Duke. Louis, son of Boson, continued his father's reign as King of Arles.

Neither was Eastern or German Helvetia free from similar changes. This portion of the country was under the rule of commissioners (*missi cameræ*), whose extortions, conspiracies, and general lack of uprightness and honesty kept the land in a perpetual state of unrest.

Burkhard I. At length, after several abortive revolts, Burkhard, Count of Thurgau, with the consent of the chief nobles, was created Duke of Allemannia, or Swabia, which included the German Helvetian territories, by the then Emperor Conrad, and the office of commissioner was abolished. One of Burkhard's first acts on assuming his new dignity was to declare war against Rudolph, concerning the frontier limits of the Thurgau. After

A.D. 919. some further fighting, peace was brought about and cemented by the marriage of Burkhard's daughter (Queen Bertha) with Rudolph. Henceforth the two sovereigns remained fast friends, and assisted each other in the many petty wars that each became embroiled in.

The position of suzerain claimed and enforced by the German Emperors proved of the utmost importance to Switzerland, as in this capacity Henry I. initiated a system of laws from which the till then unknown bourgeois or middle class took its origin—a class destined to

play such a leading *rôle* in the religious, social, intellectual, and political life of the country. About this period frequent attacks were made on the Eastern portions of Switzerland by large bands of Saracens[1] and Hungarians, who, like their savage predecessors, the Huns, swept down on the country, destroying and plundering all before them. In these marauding incursions the towns suffered greatly (amongst others, Bern and St. Gallen were partially burnt in 917), being hardly, if at all, fortified, and containing large numbers of inhabitants unused to war. As nearly all the invaders were mounted, the Emperor Henry judged they would be powerless against fortified cities, carrying, as they did, no arms or other weapons that could operate against walled defences. He accordingly ordered all towns over a certain size to be enclosed by strong walls, and in order the better to do this, and to induce the rural inhabitants to take up their abode in those cities (*Bürgen*) he granted all such as should so do special privileges and a greater measure of personal liberty. This soon developed the power of the citizens to an equality with that of the nobles, by whom, in consequence, they were regarded with much dislike and jealousy. The new-comers (*Bürger*) formed them-

Rise of the Cities.

1 The "Saracens" that figure so prominently during the 9th and 10th centuries in Swiss chronicles were, in all probability, not Saracens at all, but Sclaves of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Turks did not become established in Europe till the 15th century; in fact, not till after the taking of Constantinople in 1452. The word Saracen is derived from the Arabic *Shark* = east, *Sharki* = a man of the east; singular nominative *Sharkiyun*. A Moor, as opposed to a Saracen, would be from *Maghrib* = west, *maghribi* = a man of the west, singular nominative *Maghribiyun*. The Latins being unable to pronounce the "*gh*" turned it into *Maurus*, pronouncing "*Maghribi*." *Marib* = a Moor. A Moor was understood as a western in contradistinction to an eastern African—(Sir Richard F. Burton).

selves into military and political guilds, under the orders of a leader (*Bürgermeister*) and a directing and governing Council, elected by themselves. The power these guilds soon acquired rendered them practically independent. Some towns, however, placed themselves under the protection of a powerful noble, and were then known as *subject-towns*, whilst the rest were responsible to the Emperor alone, and from this circumstance were called free-towns (*freie Reichstädte*). Thus arose a totally new class—the citizens or burghers—a class standing between the nobles and clergy, and acting as a buffer or check upon the advance of either. As a body the new power supported with the utmost loyalty the authority of the Emperors, especially when the ambitious nobles or equally ambitious clergy attempted to assert by arms their own pretensions.

The greater security to life and property, as well as the greater degree of liberty allowed in the towns, hastened to bring people in large numbers from the insecure country districts within their sheltering walls. Amongst these, many serfs sought and found a safe asylum, where, if not claimed within a year by their lord (whose testimony had to be supported by that of seven reliable witnesses), they obtained their freedom.

The wisdom of Henry's policy soon became apparent for its original object in defending the country from attack, but still more in the foundation it laid of popular liberty and material prosperity, if not of all modern civilisation.

Chief amongst the fortified cities that at this time commenced careers that in later centuries very materially influenced the progress of Switzerland as a nation, were the rebuilt and strongly-walled Bern, Zürich, St. Gallen, Solothurn and Bienne.

Towards the close of his reign, Rudolph extended his possessions by acquiring a large portion of the present Canton of Aargau, and after his death his son, Rudolph II., waged war, as already narrated, with Burkhard, by whom he was defeated at Winterthur in 919, and whose daughter, Bertha, he subsequently married. From this marriage two children were born, Conrad, the future king, and Adelaide, who afterwards became Empress of Germany. Before he died, the Burgundian territories comprised by the modern Franche-Comté, Provence and Dauphine, as also French Switzerland, became incorporated with Rudolph's possessions. Rudolph's death occurring whilst his son was still a boy, his widow undertook the administration of the realm, the education of the prince being entrusted to the German Emperor, Otho I. Around the name of "good Queen Bertha" the Swiss have never wearied to weave a veil of affectionate remembrance. Unfortunately, it is only to the many traditional tales of saintly piety and benevolence of which she has so often been made the heroine that we are indebted for nearly all the knowledge we possess of Queen Bertha. She certainly forms a striking contrast to the generality of rulers of her time, if we are to judge her acts and character by the innumerable legends still related by the Swiss of her goodness. According to these, she was of a simple and upright disposition, possessing in a high degree the sympathetic nature of a really good woman towards the weak and suffering. Bertha devoted herself during her regency to better the social and moral condition of her poorer subjects by every means in her power. She exhibited a strong personal interest in their individual welfare, and a general unselfishness and disregard of her own personal ease and luxury, traits as

Rudolph II., A.D. 912-937.

Bertha, A.D. 937.

rare as they were beautiful in those cruel and selfish days. She made it a practice to traverse her kingdom on horseback, often *incognito*, the better to find out for herself the actual and most pressing needs of the people. She greatly assisted the cause of religion and education by endowing monasteries and founding schools. She encouraged the people to cultivate the vine and use improved methods of agriculture, and thus aided materially the general prosperity. Many common lands were divided, and districts rendered barren by war and neglect were brought into cultivation. Especially in the neighbourhood of Zürich and in the Valais was the vine grown and studied with a view to better its condition and production. Bertha took the serfs especially under her protection, and made their miserable lot less wretched in consequence. During her reign Helvetia enjoyed the unwonted happiness of fifteen years' rest from war, and, as a result, made marked progress in civilisation and prosperity. She married a second time, espousing Hughes, King of Italy, but was shortly afterwards again left a widow. The date of her death, curiously enough, is unknown. In private life Bertha practised, unlike many public benefactors, all the virtues she exhibited before the world, and for centuries after her death her memory was revived by the Swiss *laudatores temporis acti* repeating the ancient saying, "*Ce n'est plus le tems ou Berthe filoit.*"

Conrad I., A.D. 952-993.

In 952 Conrad was restored to his father's possessions by the German Emperor, and during a peaceful and uneventful reign of over forty years devoted himself chiefly to religious works, and by his lavish endowments and gifts to the Church, to monasteries, and to schools, greatly impoverished himself. Though known as the

"Peaceful," he joined his forces in 946 with those of Otho for a short period, in the French wars the Emperor was then engaged in. Later, whilst at the head of an army, hastily gathered to repel two formidable hosts of Hungarians and Saracens that had entered the Jura valleys, he exhibited his talents with conspicuous success as a crafty leader, if not as an honourable man. By entering separately into private negotiations with the leaders of the opposing armies, Conrad persuaded both that he would render aid provided that one would prevent the advance of the other. Acting upon this impression the contending forces fell upon each other with savage fury, and soon both hosts were nearly annihilated, when Conrad led his troops into the field and slaughtered the remainder. After this exploit Conrad reigned in peace, and the general condition of the country greatly improved. Especially was this seen in the better forms of agriculture introduced, and the greater number of persons who became town dwellers, and devoted themselves to trade. At this time Basel began to acquire wealth from the gifts of extensive lands at the foot of the Jura bestowed on the Bishopric by the Counts of Wecklingen, who possessed the castle of Novocastrum (Neuchâtel). The same See also received from the Emperor silver mining rights situated in Brisgau, as well as hunting lands along the Rhine, the castle of Pfeffingen, and other important gifts. During the reign of Henry II. the cathedral church, previously destroyed by the Hungarians, was rebuilt by the Emperor.

Basel.

In the latter years of Conrad's reign his hold over the nobles became much weakened, and a condition of much lawlessness once more prevailed in the rural dis-

tricts. He died in 993 at Vienne, and was succeeded by his son, Rudolph III., who proved himself little more than a king in name. He was constantly at war with his nobles, and, finding himself quite unable to hold his position, besides being without money, sold all the rights he possessed to the clergy and the great lords of Helvetia. These included titles, property, and whole territories, which went to the highest bidder, till finally he finished his ignoble and disastrous career by selling what remained of his kingdom to the Emperor of Germany, Henry II., sending him the spear and the ring of St. Maurice, the insignia of investiture, and himself took refuge in Strasburg. This disposal of the crown and country to the German Emperor not being acquiesced in by the Swiss nobles, preparations were actively commenced to prevent Henry from taking possession. The Emperor accordingly marched an army into Helvetia, under the command of Werner, Bishop of Strasburg, and Radbod, of Habsburg, and succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on the Burgundians, under the Count of Poitiers, at Coppet. So decisive indeed was this victory, that the nobles were compelled to acknowledge their new sovereign, to whom they then swore fidelity. Under Henry's successor, Conrad II., the Burgundian nobles again revolted, but were completely routed at Morat in 1032, and the German Emperor formally received the crown of Burgundy at Payerne. Thus Helvetia, as part of the Kingdom of Burgundy, once more changed her rulers, and for the next four and a half centuries fell under the direct dominion of the German Empire. This condition of things was due in great measure to the perpetual quarrels of the Swiss nobles, that made anything like national union impossible. During the period

Rudolph III., A.D. 993-1016.

A.D. 1016.

Conflict with Germany.

sketched above Switzerland acquired great reputation for the courage and fighting qualities of her people, who were eagerly sought as soldiers by the Burgundian and Swabian kings.

St. Gallen.

The Abbey of St. Gallen continued the chief centre of learning and practical piety of the land. Under the rule of the Abbots Waldo, Gozbert and Harmuth, its libraries were enriched with many valuable works of the Greek and Latin Classics, as well as others relating to geography, history and science generally. Many Scots, Anglo-Saxons, and other foreigners from far countries frequently visited the monks, and through them much learning relating to other lands was introduced. Neither was the Abbey simply the home of book study, it gradually assumed the appearance of a town ; schools, baths, hospitals for the sick and aged, a botanical garden, and institutes for teaching theology, arts and sciences, all made their appearance, and gave a life and vigour to the vast institution that permeated many of the neighbouring countries. The arts of caligraphy and colouring were specially practised, and many parchments then preserved are still in existence as beautifully written and painted manuscripts. Astronomy and medicine both made progress under the fostering care of St. Gallen, and employment was given to large numbers by the extensive sculpturing, workings in precious stones, iron and wood, as also in agriculture and breeding of cattle, there carried on. The Abbey monks, moreover, obtained the reputation of writing the best Latin of the age, and were held in high esteem in consequence by the learned all over the then known world.[1]

1. The wide repute enjoyed by St. Gallen is further evidenced by Athelstan, King of England, concluding an alliance with it through Bishop Keonwald.

Church Centres.

Amongst the intellectual lights of the period were several men bearing the name of Notker and Eckhardt, names that since have often recurred in the annals of Swiss literature. Besides St. Gallen, the Abbeys of Pfeffers, of Zürich, of Rheinau, the Bishoprics of Chur, Constanz, and Basel, and other church centres, formed important neuclei of learning and study of the useful arts of the period, and greatly benefited the poor around them. The celebrated Abbey of Einsiedeln, founded upon the spot made sacred by the murder of the noble Anchorite Meinrad von Hohenzollern, close to the Lake of Zürich, by a band of robbers in 863, also rose to eminence during this epoch.

Serfs.

The spirit of personal independence, so characteristic of the Swiss of later times, began in several centres during this period to manifest itself among the lowest and most helpless section of society, that of the serfs. Union and agitation, coupled with the efforts of some few amongst the more enlightened and compassionate of the clerical dignitaries, raised and bettered considerably their condition. During the rule of Solomon, Abbot of St. Gallen, the serfs obtained many privileges before unknown, and for the first time were permitted to grow beards after the fashion of freedmen. Later they revolted against their menial position, and succeeded in obtaining more rights, such as the carrying of arms and shields, as well as more personal liberty. Before this, no defensive or offensive weapons other than a knife were allowed them. In some mountainous districts they commenced to form regularly armed bands, under the command of a leader or *vogt*, for purposes of mutual protection and benefit. But probably the most important step towards emancipation took place

under the reign of Henry II. when many bodies of serfs, notably those of St. Gallen and Hohenwiel, obtained for the first time rights of *connubia*, being allowed to marry and live together in families. Before this, these unfortunate and degraded people were compelled to herd promiscuously like the beasts of the field, for such indeed they were considered.

In 992, risings took place against the cruelties and extortion of the nobles of Aargau and Thurgau. In the latter province the people under the command of Henry of Stein, and assisted by some of the inferior nobles, attacked the powerful lords of the district; but in both instances the commons were defeated and the risings suppressed after immense numbers of the peasants had been massacred. Several religious houses, Einsiedeln among the number, took part with the nobles in these encounters, and, far from practising the doctrines of mercy and charity they professed, used every species of cruelty towards the defeated. The blows thus struck for liberty, though fruitless in their immediate results were, however, but the precursors of many similar attempts, and defeat, far from disheartening the Swiss peasants, only served to stimulate them to further efforts. Switzerland's after history vindicated the early efforts of the weak and wretched against the tyranny that then oppressed them.

CHAPTER VII

A.D.1024-1291 SWITZERLAND A PART OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Growth of Papal Power.

Up to the close of the 10th century the centralising authority of emperors, kings and aspiring nobles had steadily increased; more and more power thus came into the hands of the few, who used it, either for the benefit of their subjects, or, as was more frequently the case, solely to serve their own personal ambition. Side by side with this, a new force had slowly but surely advanced, under the banners of a sacred institution, and by the help of invisible arms, coupled with those of a more material nature. It now stood prominently before the world, a rival to the most formidable monarchs, boldly demanding homage and servile obedience from all, and claiming exclusive temporal powers in right of its spiritual nature. When the 11th century opened, Christianity had already long ceased to remember her humble birth, or the humility that characterised the life and teachings of her first Founder; the dignity of the Church and the position of the ecclesiastics had usurped the place of practical religion; Rome, imitating the example so brilliantly set by the heathen Romans of former times, entered upon a second conquest of the world, a conquest not entirely conceived or continued in the spirit of the Christianity of Christ. "Invariably fixed on one purpose; apparently quiet as long as no occasion

offered for acting; pliant and flexible under the pressure of fear for its own safety, and ever prompt and dexterous in the use of opportunities; it had formed and matured a regular offensive system, with formidable resources and auxiliaries, and only required a daring leader, a suitable field, and careless opponents, to show itself in its whole extent and under its true colours."

The incorporation of Switzerland into the German Empire naturally led to the former country participating in the long-continued and bloody struggle the latter entered into with the Popes of Rome. A succession of strong, if unscrupulous, princes, during a century and a half, had raised Germany to a position that promised in the near future to increase her empire to the limits of that Charlemagne's genius had built up, if not even to become greater. On the other hand, Rome's subjects and princes were to be found in every land, her temporal authority over Western Europe was enormous, and her spiritual position lent her a force that in that blind and unreasoning age meant the support of tens of thousands amongst all classes in all nations.

The chief ambition of Rome was to become independent of the authority of the German Emperors, who till this time had decided the elections of the Popes, and in all matters of importance regulated their acts and policy.

Henry II., A.D. 1002-24.

During the reign of Henry II., "whose attachment to the priesthood may probably have gone further towards procuring the honour of saintship for him than even the strict piety of his life," the first decisive forward step was taken by the Pope in the coming struggle by ignoring the necessity of obtaining the

A.D. 1039. Emperor's confirmation of his election. Both Henry and his successor, Conrad II. (1024-1039), found themselves too fully occupied in keeping their unruly nobles in order to turn their attention to the revolt against their authority going on in Rome. But with the accession of Henry III. to the imperial throne very energetic measures were taken to suppress the Papal pretensions. Henry combined in his person most of the characteristics that go to make a great monarch, and left a name second only to that of Charlemagne in German annals. He established his rule firmly over the whole of Western Helvetia, and, after many a fierce encounter with the native nobility, was formally crowned King of the Burgundians in 1045 at Solothurn, when he received the submission and oaths of fidelity of most of the nobles. Assuming also the crown of Lombardy, he thus included the whole of Switzerland within his dominions, Rhætia being at that time regarded as but a dependency of the Italian kingdom. The northern divisions of Helvetia and Allemannia already belonged to Germany. Having completed his designs of conquest, he next turned his hand to Rome, where three Popes were contending with one another for supremacy. Henry settled the disputes of the several claimants by deposing all three, and installing in their stead a German as Pontiff; during his lifetime allowing none but Popes of his own nationality to be elected. Henry's domestic rule was no less remarkable than his brilliant successes abroad. He maintained, and himself personally enforced, justice to all classes of his many subjects, and by wise laws and secure government increased the general prosperity.

Henry III. A.D. 1039-56.

Henry IV., A.D. 1056-1106 On his decease his son, Henry IV., obtained the crown,

though at the time of his father's death he was only a child of six. During Henry IV.'s reign the long-smouldering disputes for supremacy with Rome burst into flame, and brought about one of the most sanguinary and destructive wars the Empire ever saw, during which whole districts of Switzerland were converted into deserts and thousands of Swiss were slain. Henry's great opponent in this long and savage contest was the celebrated Hildebrand (changed by his enemies into *Hell-brand*). Pope Gregory VII., through his strong and just government, his great and sweeping reforms, his fiery attempts at augmenting the Papal power, and the terrible, though highly important, events that occurred in his long reign, takes probably the foremost place in the long ranks of the occupants of St. Peter's Chair. Though but the son of an uneducated blacksmith at Sienna, where he was born, he early evinced great talents, and when quite young began his ecclesiastical career as a monk in the convent of Cluny. His energy, his learning, his piety, and his great organising qualities early drew the attention of his superiors to the advantage of placing him in a more widely useful sphere, and he was accordingly called to the Court at Rome, where he rapidly obtained great influence. So prominent, indeed, did he become that in 1073 he, with the consent of the Emperor, was elected Pope, from which time he set himself to accomplish the great work he had devoted his life to, of cleansing the Church from her many stains, of increasing her power and influence, and, above all, of making her superior to all earthly princes, and independent of all lay rule or interference. He commenced the battle for what he considered right by laying the axe to

Pope Gregory VII., A.D. 1073-80.

A.D. 1075.

the root of the ecclesiastical abuses of his Church, and issued a solemn prohibition to his clergy on the subjects of simony, celibacy and investiture. Apart from the ordinary forms of gross licentiousness in which the clergy of many localities indulged equally with the laity, simony at this time had become the almost universal practice over the German Empire. Needy monarchs found in it a fruitful means of replenishing their coffers, and nearly every office connected with the Church of sufficient importance to make it worth while to pay large sums for, was accordingly sold by the Emperor, without scruple, to the highest bidder. Such a practice was necessarily calculated to lower considerably the Church in the eyes of the people and to make bishops, abbots, and other high dignitaries little better than speculators in the monetary value of their offices. The ordinance against the marriage of priests was distinctly an innovation, and as such found many bitter opponents among the clergy themselves, many of whom were already married. Though designed to make the priesthood a distinct caste, devoted heart and soul to the love of their Church and to that alone—and doubtless in this in many cases succeeding thoroughly—it opened the door to the commission of much immorality, and certainly proved in many ways an extremely weak spot in the otherwise powerful organisation of Roman Catholicism. Gregory's stand against the continued custom of imperial investiture of bishops touched the very foundation of the disputed supremacy of the Church. Up to the 10th century it had always been the custom for both clergy and laity of a district to elect their Bishop. This election had then to be confirmed by the Emperor by the bestowal of the ring and crozier

(investiture), he receiving in return the oath of fealty. Custom, however, gradually made the popular election little more than a formality, the Emperor himself appointing whom he thought fit. Gregory not only denounced this practice, but solemnly asserted as a dogma his superior authority in all matters, both temporal and spiritual, over all sovereigns and principalities, and forbade in future any interference in Church matters by any lay prince. The blow thus struck soon lit up all Germany with an active conflagration. Nominally the conflict was between the secular and clerical parties, but in reality many high Church dignitaries joined Henry, and many German nobles declared for the Pope. Provinces, archbishoprics, monasteries, towns, and local districts were divided into two camps; the bonds of social and family affection and obedience were severed; social dissolution seemed immediate and certain. Neither was Henry IV. the man either to submit to dictation or to allow the least interference with his prerogatives.[1] Disregarding the Papal bulls, he continued to nominate and invest with the symbols of their office the newly-made bishops and abbots, and at once prepared to uphold his right by force of arms. Henry's contention was that as the bishops and others whose election he

1 Up to this period the sovereigns of Germany took merely the title of "Kings" till they had formally received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope, after which ceremony they became "Emperors." Moreover, this latter title was not conferred upon those who through any cause were unable to make the journey to Rome (Römerzug). Some sovereigns—Charlemagne, for example—in order to show publicly their authority over the Church, during the ceremony took the crown from the hands of the Pontiff and placed it themselves on their own heads.

confirmed possessed temporal powers within his realm, they were necessarily *his* vassals. To this the Pope answered that the Church was as superior to the State as the soul was to the body. Henry's first step was to summon a Diet of German and other bishops faithful to his interests, in order to procure from it a decree of deposition against Gregory. In his turn the Pope summoned Henry to appear before him, and on his refusing, launched against him a bull of excommunication, thus releasing his subjects from their allegiance to him.

Henry's Submission, A.D. 1077.

Then, as now, the mass of the uneducated viewed this sentence with great awe, and soon Henry found his position so precarious, owing to the defection of his subjects, that he was obliged to submit. He accordingly, after many a bitter struggle against his haughty spirit, crossed the Alps, almost unattended, and without money or the most ordinary comforts, enduring many hardships and perils, it being then in the midst of a severe winter, and being surrounded by fanatical enemies, he at length arrived at the Castle of Carossa, where Gregory was awaiting him. Even this humiliation was insufficient to satisfy the Pope, and the unfortunate monarch was accordingly ordered to remain exposed in an open courtyard of the castle, dressed only in a coarse woollen garment, for three days, when at last he was admitted to an audience. After confessing his faults, and promising to amend his future conduct, he was absolved from the terms of excommunication and dismissed. On returning to Germany, Henry set about re-establishing his authority, and after inflicting several defeats on his rebel nobles, secured a position even stronger than he formerly occupied. Though Henry had publicly made

Henry's Triumph.

submission to the Pope, he never ceased to meditate a speedy and ample revenge for his humiliation, and he soon found himself prepared to pay his debts in full. Once more calling together a Diet, he obtained a second decree deposing Gregory; and in 1080 marched an army into Italy, ravaging the country up to the very gates of Rome. He then carried the city by assault, and expelled his rival, setting up Gilbert in his place. After these signal successes Henry returned to Germany, where, though his star appeared so fully in the ascendant, great discontent prevailed, and many formidable enemies openly denounced him. At last even his own son rose in arms against him, and in 1106 he was banished the kingdom, and shortly afterwards ended his tempestuous career as a beggar in the streets of Liège. Henry's rival, Gregory, also expired in exile and poverty (1085).

A.D. 1080.

Henry's Deposition, A.D. 1106.

Henry V., on his accession, attempted to continue hostilities against Rome; but, owing to the defection of most of his subjects, was obliged to make peace, and by signing the Treaty of Worms, forfeited nearly all his predecessors had sacrificed so many lives to gain (1122). With the death of Henry V. the House of Franconia came to an end.[1]

Henry V., A.D. 1106-25.

A.D. 1122.

The share taken by Switzerland in this sanguinary drama was far from unimportant, nor were her losses small. Among the principal Church dignitaries who took an active part with Henry against their spiritual chief, were the Bishops and Abbots of St. Gallen, Constanz, Sion, Basel, and Lausanne, whilst the only

Swiss Bishops.

1 Franconia comprised that portion of Germany bounded on the north by Hesse, on the east by Bohemia and the Upper Palatinate, on the south by Swabia and Bavaria, and on the west by the Rhine.

one of any prominence who supported the sacerdotal party was the Bishop of Chur. Doubtless many of these prelates were actuated in their choice of sides by personal motives, as in the case of Burkhard, Bishop of Lausanne, who, being married, naturally resented the Pope's decree of celibacy; many also owed their position to Henry's favour, having purchased their appointments from the Emperor. Whatever cause may have operated to induce the Swiss bishops as a body to throw in their lot with the Emperor, they nearly all carried their allegiance to the length of sacrificing their goods, and several even their lives, on his behalf, and greatly assisted him by their personal efforts to maintain his position. After selling a large portion of his possessions to procure funds, the Bishop of Lausanne armed his serfs and so raised a large force which he himself led in the field, and in the midst of which he eventually fell, lance in hand, at the battle of Gleichen (1089.) When Henry's Burgundian subjects in Eastern Helvetia revolted under Rudolph, the Emperor bestowed their fiefs as a reward for his fidelity upon the Bishop of Constanz. He, however, did not live long to enjoy them, as he also was killed shortly afterwards in battle. The conduct of Ulrich, Abbot of St. Gallen, was heroic in the extreme. Attacked by overwhelming numbers under the command of the Duke of Bavaria and of Berthold of Carinthia, the latter fresh from ravaging the lands belonging to the Bishopric of Basel, Ulrich held his territories unaided for a considerable time, selling even his church ornaments to raise money. Finding himself at last unable longer to sustain the unequal contest, he collected his monks and many of his dependents, and retreated to the mountains, where he remained and

A.D. 1089.

Ulrich of St. Gallen.

worked for two years, till the Emperor's successes enabled him once more to return and resume his rule at St. Gallen. He never once sued for peace, and, unlike many of his contemporaries, he appears never to have attempted to enrich himself or his Abbey at the expense of others. He ruled, ever faithful to his sovereign and beloved by his followers, and that, too, in spite of being excommunicated by the Pope, for forty-six years, and died respected by all (1117). The name of the present dual Canton of Appenzell is taken from the events connected with Ulrich's life—*Abten Zell* (the Abbot's Cell). But the chief event of interest to Switzerland from the war that followed the Pope's excommunication of Henry IV., with the freeing from their allegiance this mandate brought to the imperial vassals, was the rise to power of two local princes, Rudolph of Rheinfelden, Duke of Allemannia and Governor of Burgundy, and Berthold of Zäringen, a powerful Swabian noble. The latter headed the sacerdotal party, which included most of the Swabian nobles, as well as the Counts of Kyburg and Toggenburg, and after being very successful in the German divisions of Switzerland, boldly proclaimed Rudolph Emperor in place of Henry IV., whom the Pope had deposed (1077). After many years of war, during which Henry's principal victories were gained in Western or Burgundian Helvetia, Rudolph lost his chances of the crown with his life at the decisive battle of Mersburg, on the Elster, in 1080.[1]

Rudolph of Rheinfelden.

Berthold of Zäringen.

A.D. 1077.

1 It is related with more or less probability of truth concerning this battle, that Rudolph had his right hand severed from the arm by a sword-cut dealt by the redoubtable Goddefroi de Bouillon, from the effects of which he expired next day. Before his death, apostrophising his lost hand, he exclaimed, "And with this hand I swore fealty to Henry." Stories of this genus, all bearing a strong family

After a lengthened contest, in which several sanguinary battles were fought over the succession to Rudolph's estates, Berthold of Zäringen, his nearest living relation, succeeded in establishing his right as superior to that of the other claimants, with the consent of most of the Swabian nobles, as also of Guelf, the powerful Duke of Bavaria. In the meantime the Emperor had himself disposed of the disputed territories by bestowing them on his son-in-law, Frederic of Hohenstauffen, and rather than commence a fresh struggle, Berthold voluntarily sacrificed his claim (1097). For this generous act he received the title of *kastvogt*, or warden, of Zürich from Henry, as well as the Dukedom of the territory of Helvetia that formerly formed part of that of Swabia (the name of Allemannia thus becoming extinct), whilst Frederic ruled in Swabia proper. By this submission of Berthold he terminated a hostility that for twenty-four years his house had actively carried on against Henry. In 1127 Conrad, the then Duke, received, in addition to his German possessions in Helvetia, the Duchy of Burgundy. Thus most of the territories comprising modern Switzerland became united under the rule of the House of Zäringen, by whom they were wisely and benevolently governed during the ensuing century.[1]

Frederic of Hohenstauffen, A.D. 1097.

resemblance, are plentifully scattered through the lives of all nations, Cranmer's conduct at the stake being perhaps the most familiar instance in English annals. The Pope appears to have felt full confidence in Rudolph's ultimate success, as he forwarded him a consecrated crown, bearing the arrogant inscription, "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho."

1 *House of Zäringen.*—Berthold of Zäringen (d. 1078), Berthold II. (1078-1111), Berthold III. (1111-1122), Conrad (1122-1152), Berthold IV. (1152-1186), Berthold V. (1186-1218). The ruins of the ancestral home of this once powerful family may still be seen in the neighbourhood of Freyburg, in Baden.

This period is further important as bringing the House of Savoy into the political arena, a house that influenced in many ways Switzerland's future history, and that seldom acted otherwise than as a baleful factor upon the progress of the Swiss people. The first Savoy Prince to come prominently forward was Humbert, Count of Maurienne, one of Conrad II.'s generals, who became sovereign ruler of Savoy.[1] In his immediate neighbourhood the Counts of Geneva, and, to the north of these, those of Neuchâtel, also rose to power and began to exercise great influence on the events of the time. *House of Savoy.*

During her long record of misery, Switzerland has probably seldom suffered more than in the 11th century, when the disputes between the Emperor and the Pope converted the whole county into one vast field of battle and deluged the soil with oceans of blood. For many weary years battles were almost constantly raging, battles fought with all the savage brutality only political and religious hatred could create. They led to the ruthless slaughter of untold hecatombs of victims and brought about every form of misery, immorality, and disorder. Agriculture, commerce, and, indeed, every form of industrial work except the popular work of war, were completely stopped. Whole districts were converted into barren wastes, and the progress of civilisation completely arrested. So great grew the war-like fanaticism of the people that there scarcely existed a

1 The lands received by Humbert, the founder of the dynasty, included that known as Chablais on the southern shore of Lake Léman, together with the Lower Valais, and the territory along the northern side as far as Vevey, with the parts between Geneva and Rolle on the western side.

noble, a monastery, a town, or even a village or a family but took an active part in the butcheries of one or other of the rival parties. More than a thousand castles were built during this era within which dwelt the so-called nobles (noble but in name, and more appropriately termed Raubritter), who, when not fighting for Emperor or Pope, waged war with one another, or lay in wait to seize, plunder and murder any passing traveller who might be unlucky enough to come within the sphere of their robber-rule. Amid all the horrors of the 10th and 11th centuries, one ray of light alone stands out in brilliant contrast to the dark and terrible misery that in the name of religion overshadowed Switzerland. This *Truce of God.* was the institution known as the "Truce of God," founded by some of those few amongst the Church dignitaries who still believed in the practice of the teaching of their Founder. By this institution all hostilities were forbidden under pain of excommunication during certain specified periods. The rest from strife was naturally hailed with joy by all classes, and certainly as long as its terms were adhered to (this unfortunately was far from always being the case), it did much to alleviate the sufferings of the people, whose cup of bitterness was well-nigh filled to overflowing.[1] Though

1 The Swiss claim the honour of being the first amongst the nations of Europe to institute this beneficent pause in war. Following their historians, the "Truce of God," or *Freuga Dei*, was initiated by Hughes, Bishop of Lausanne, who in 1036 convoked a synod of the Bishops of the two Burgundies to consider the best means of improving the terrible condition that even then existed over Helvetia and the neighbouring countries. The result was the promulgation of an edict forbidding, under penalty of excommunication, all carrying on of war, or the arrest of peasants, monks, or other inoffensive persons, in each year between Advent and eight days after Epiphany, from Septuagesima till eight days after

the Church undoubtedly exercised great influence in lessening the horrors of war in the early part of this period and checking "man's inhumanity to man," as time went on she too often fell under the control of those who used her simply as a means of furthering political aims or promoting personal ambition. Abuses of every kind became rife, and the scandalous conduct of many of the monks and the higher ecclesiastics led the people to look upon the Church with neither respect nor love. Many neglected their church attendances and religious observances or fell into total unbelief. Whilst irreligion and licentiousness made daily progress, there were not wanting many earnest and truly pious men in the ranks of the Church who by their preaching, living, and prayers, heroically tried to stem the ebbing tide of faith

First Crusade, A.D. 1096.

Easter, and between every Wednesday evening and the following Monday morning.

Against the Swiss claim to priority, French authorities state "La Trève de Dieu" was first inaugurated at Roussillon, in Isere, in the year 1027, whilst Germans attribute its origin to an edict of the Emperor Conrad II., about the same period. From time immemorial four months (Muharram Rajah, Qu'l, Qu'dah, and Zu' l Hijjah) have been set apart from the rest of the year by the Arabs as periods when war is strictly forbidden, and it may very well have been that the custom of *Freuga Dei* was learnt from this source, either through Spain, where the Arabs had exclusively settled as conquerors by the 8th century, or from Sicily, where they also had large settlements at the same epoch. In England the custom seems to have originated in the middle of the 11th century, by the clergy forbidding all men during certain periods to wage war or strife. The command and malediction were daily read from the pulpit after the gospel in the following terms:—"May they who refuse to obey be accursed, and have their portion with Cain, the first murderer, with Judas, the arch-traitor, and with Dathan and Abaram, who went down alive into the pit. May they be accursed in the life that now is, and in that which is to come; may their light be put out as a candle." Immediately the lights were all extinguished and the congregation left the church as best they could in the gloom or total darkness—(Brewer).

and morals. How low Helvetia, together with neighbouring countries, would have fallen, had not the wave of revivalism, created by the conduct of the so-called Turks in maltreating pilgrims to Palestine, swept over Western Europe and been kept alive by the victorious career of the soldiers forming the First Crusades, it is impossible to determine. Under the liberal rule of the Arabs Christian pilgrims to the Holy Shrine at Jerusalem were permitted to come and go without molestation. But on the conquests of the Saracens making them masters of the city, every form of cruelty was practised on the "infidels." Helvetia took little, if any, part in the First Crusade, which was composed almost wholly of warriors from France, but during the reign of Conrad III. (1138-52), when the Second Crusade was organised, many Swiss played a prominent part in that ill-planned and disastrous expedition, and upheld their country's reputation by the courage they displayed in the actual fighting and in the far more terrible trials entailed by defeat, disease, and retreat. Few, indeed, returned to their native land when the remnants of the brilliant army that set out so full of confidence but a short time before struggled back to Europe (1149). The number of nobles killed and families ruined by the Crusades led at least to one good result for Helvetia at large. It brought about many divisions of large estates, and a consequent redistribution of landed property amongst a greater number of people, when each man, having a a direct interest in the result of his labour, worked his best and hardest, and thus a spur was given to national industry. Moreover, many new methods of agriculture were introduced, and vines, grain, and cattle of foreign origin were imported.

Second Crusade, A.D. 1149.

At this epoch took place the inception of the first of those alliances between different groups of peasants, for purposes of mutual support and protection, that by a process of social and political evolution, eventuated in national independence and the founding of the present Swiss Confederation. For many years before much irritation existed amongst the peasants of the mountains of the Waldstätten (Forest States), caused by the claims of the monks of Einsiedeln to certain grazing lands upon the ground that they had obtained a right to these pastures through a grant made in their favour by Henry II., in 1018. It seems clear that the Emperor *did* grant the monks grazing rights over all the mountains in their neighbourhood, but it is equally clear that at the time of so doing he was totally unaware of the existence of the peasants, the original owners. These acts form an interesting commentary on the justice of monarchs at that period, and on the morality of the clergy in praying for a formal grant of the property of others. On the monks attempting to enforce their claims, the peasants stoutly resisted, especially guarding the passes leading to the mountains of Sihl-Alp and Rothenthurm. In their efforts to preserve their property they received the assistance of the Counts of Lenzburg and the Baillies of the Waldstätten, under the Duke of Zäringen. For nearly a hundred years these hardy mountaineers succeeded in maintaining exclusive rights to their native lands. In 1114, matters having assumed a threatening aspect on both sides, the question was referred to the then Emperor, Henry V., who gave judgment in favour of the monks, and further condemned the peasants to a heavy fine. Rather than submit to a sentence they deemed unjust, the mountaineers set about making

First Peasant Alliances.

A.D. 1114.

A.D. 1114.

preparations to offer an active resistance, and in order the better to secure their position, entered into an alliance with their neighbours of Uri and Unterwalden for a period of three years. They also formed relations of semi-alliance with Luzern, then subject to the Abbot of Murbach, in Alsace, to whom Pepin had bestowed this valuable benefice in 760. Uri was under the Abbot of Zürich, who obtained it in 853, though many serfs within the cantonal limits, with the lands they occupied, were the property of the neighbouring nobles of Lenzburg, Habsburg and Schweinsburg. Some of these serfs possessed what was then considered a large measure of personal liberty, being allowed to live in companies, or "communes," under the presidency of a leader called an *Amman* (*amt*, an office; *mann*, man—a bailiff) nominated by the over-lord. In Schwyx also dwelt many half-free serfs possessing similar privileges; and in this canton the land was, moreover, extensively subdivided, belonging to numbers of separate petty lords, none possessing any great extent of property. This condition thus tended greatly to increase the democratic character of the district, a character Schwyx has never lost. In Unterwalden also very similar conditions obtained, and here the most powerful local noble was the Count of Habsburg. In these three small sections of Switzerland the sentiment of liberty and patriotism made more progress than elsewhere, due to the causes stated, to the milder form of government, and still more to the topographical conditions of the country, that enabled large numbers of peasants to live in high mountain regions, partially inaccessible to the outer world—a position strongly calculated to foster a spirit of independence and self-reliance. When Conrad III.

became Emperor, the monks of Einsiedeln petitioned him to enforce the award his predecessor had given, and bring the refractory peasants to submission. Conrad accordingly re-imposed the former sentence, and then, finding the mountaineers paid no attention to his orders, placed them under the "Ban of the Empire." This much dreaded and usually highly efficacious method of extorting obedience to the imperial will was a primitive and extremely vigorous form of the modern "boycott." Under it, the persons implicated were held cut off from the world; no one was allowed to hold any form of communication with them, except to kill or ruin them. They were treated as wild beasts, and as such were hunted to death without fear or favour. Such, however, was the loyalty of the neighbouring Helvetians to one another, that the "Ban" soon became a dead-letter, and the condemned mountaineers were permitted to continue with impunity visiting the markets of Luzern and Zürich to sell and buy; and still the fines remained unpaid. During the succeeding reign of Frederick I. (1152-1190), as a last resource, the Waldstätten were placed under an "Interdict" by the Bishop of Constanz. This extreme measure (which seldom, if ever, was employed before the time of Gregory VII.) was shortly afterwards withdrawn at the urgent request of Ulric of Lenzburg, a humane and powerful noble, one of the foremost men of his country, and a descendant of the Lenzburg who in 1114 befriended the helpless serfs; and again the peasants remained masters of the situation.

During nearly a century and a half that the Dukes of Zäringen ruled over the greater part of Switzerland, the people enjoyed the benefits of a wise and just government, according to the ideas of that period, and though

civil war often broke out through the restless ambition of individual nobles leading to revolt, still, on the whole, peace prevailed. A continuous policy was steadily pursued by the different members of the dynasty of encouraging the rise to power and semi-independence of the towns in order to counterbalance the authority of the nobles. By this means Burgdorf, Bern, Moudon, Schaffhausen, Morges, Yverdon, and other insignificant villages rose to the position of wealthy and powerful towns, self-governed, and subject only to the imperial authority or to that of some important prince. Strong fortifications were built around these new centres, and the increased freedom and privileges thus offered induced many of the rural peasantry to settle within them. Freyburg (*freetown*) was built during the reign of Berthold IV., in 1178, as a protection for freedmen, and also as a refuge for serfs who had fled from the tyranny of their masters.

Berthold IV., A.D. 1152-86.

Whilst Berthold IV. ruled over Helvetia, he was constantly at feud with the Bishops of Lausanne, Geneva and Sion, over whom he had been appointed imperial *vogt* or rector by the Emperor Frederick I. At last, in 1178, after a prolonged contest, and after the Bishop of Lausanne had appealed to the Pope, Berthold succeeded in obtaining the submission of the rebellious prelate. Later, the Duke transferred his authority over Geneva to Aymon, Count of Genevois, a noble who possessed a large part of the territories bordering the two sides of the town. This transference, however, not suiting the views of the local bishop, an appeal was carried to the Emperor, who acknowledged the bishop as Lord of Geneva, subject only to his superior authority, and created him a prince of the

Geneva, A.D. 1154.

Holy Roman Empire. Thus Geneva became an imperial town (1154); a similar position was also obtained for the See of Sion (1189). Before, however, these changes were effected, many serious encounters took place between Berthold's forces and those of his sacerdotal subjects, in which the latter were decisively defeated in three important battles (1165, 1182, 1185). A.D. 1185. In these troubles, the Emperor being a Guelph,[1] his sympathies and assistance were given to the bishops, but in spite of this the Duke's position was sufficiently strong to enable him to maintain his authority. During the reign of Berthold's son and successor, Switzerland was many times distracted by the risings fomented by the nobles, whose growing jealousy of the increasing power of the Zäringen Duke caused several of their number to form a league, with the object of dethroning Berthold. Their designs were soon frustrated by a decisive defeat of the conspirators at Avenches in 1190, when the surviving rebels were forced to make their

1 Guelph and "Ghibeline" as party cries were first heard at the battle of Winsberg, in Swabia, where two rival claimants for the imperial crown were contending—Conrad, Duke of Franconia, and Henry, Duke of Saxony, of the House of Wölf. The latter's followers took Wölf as their battle-cry, whilst Conrad's rallied to shouts of Weiblingen, a town of Würtemberg, and the patrimonial seat of the House of Hohenstauffer, of which Conrad was a member. Later on the "Guelphs" became the party in favour of the Pope, and "Ghibeline" (changed from Weiblingen) those who supported the imperial power. The names in process of time became generally adopted in the Italian cities in the 13th century, during and after the reign of Frederick II. Later, when the German Emperor ceased to take much interest in Italian politics, the "Ghibeline" became the aristocratic, and the "Guelph" the popular party. The House of Brunswick being descended from both that of Este and of Wölf, took the name of "Este-Güelph." In 1816 the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV., instituted the Guelphic order of Knighthood for the kingdom of Hanover.

submission. Other troubles, due to the discontent of the ambitious petty nobles, broke out later in the Oberland and in Valais, where the people were induced to take up arms in rebellion. After several hardly-contested battles, in which Berthold was usually victorious, though he sustained a somewhat severe defeat close to Utrichen, in 1212, peace was restored. Berthold's reputation for strength, uprightness, and wisdom indeed became so great that, on the death of the Emperor, he was offered the Imperial Crown of Germany. This dangerous gift he wisely declined, preferring to remain a powerful Duke rather than become a weak Emperor. He continued his illustrious rule over his native land, and, till the day of his death, remained a much-beloved and respected prince, formidable to the great, whom he kept in subjection; cherished by the towns, whose freedom and power he had promoted; and venerated by the poor, whom he protected from the cruelty and extortions of the rich. He died childless in 1218, by which event the House of Zäringen came to an end, as did the office of Warden of Burgundy, and Helvetia once more reverted to the imperial crown.

House of Savoy.

Side by side with the growth of the power of the Zäringen, the neighbouring territories of Savoy made rapid progress under the rule of a succession of ambitious and valiant Counts, whose proximity to Switzerland now began to threaten her safety. Chief amongst them stands Pierre de Savoie—the Charlemagne, on a diminutive scale, of his country. Pierre was already sixty years of age when he succeeded his nephew Boniface, who died in 1263 without issue. He was uncle of Henry III. of England, through this monarch having married Eleanor of Provence, daughter of

Pierre de Savoie, A.D. 1263-68.

Beatrice of Savoy, Pierre's sister. For many years, before obtaining the supreme power, he succeeded in making himself practically master of the government, as his warlike qualities enabled him to take command of the army, and put down with a strong hand several serious revolts of the lesser nobles of Vaud and Valais, as of the Bishop of Lausanne, and also the attacks of many minor neighbouring principalities. These victories (1240-44) led to the expansion of Savoy by her incorporating Vaud and other territories of smaller size within her rule. Like Charlemagne, Pierre followed up his conquests by introducing wise laws and firm government amongst his new subjects. He added greatly to his territories by marrying the heiress of Faucigny, and, after rebuilding the Castle of Chillon, he further strengthened his possessions by erecting the castle-forts of Martigny, Evian, and the Tour de Pierre, or Peilz, at Vevey. He attacked the powerful city of Turin, and, after a protracted siege, obliged it to capitulate. In 1241 Pierre visited England, where A.D. 1241.
he was received with great honour, and was created Earl of Richmond, and received the palace known as Savoy House as a residence, whilst his brother Boniface was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. After his conquest of Turin he again repaired to England, where Richard of Cornwall, who had been elected sovereign of Germany, but did not reign, bestowed upon him the extensive estates of Hartmann, Count of Kyburg. He further became ruler of Romont, in the present Canton of Freyburg, and the surrounding territories, and was acknowledged suzerain of Bern (1255), Morat, Basel, and Geneva (1264). Bern served Pierre well and A.D. 1264.
faithfully in his wars, and then obtained his permission

A.D. 1267. to dispense with his suzerainty. In 1267 he defeated an army of 15,000 men with great slaughter at Loewenberg that Rudolph of Habsburg had sent against him. This signal reverse decided the latter to conclude peace, and a treaty was accordingly signed that allowed each of these men to pursue his own path of ambition unmolested by the other. He died in Chillon (or in Pierre Châlet, in Bugey, according to some authorities) in 1268, and was buried at Hautecombe. Pierre's chivalrous gallantry, his great administrative abilities, his justness and liberal views, caused him to be as much respected and beloved by his original subjects as by his new Swiss ones, by whom his memory is still revered as one who shed lustre on the country. Many of the liberties Pierre saw spring up in England he gave to his own people, especially initiating a form of popular parliament by calling together the chief men amongst the nobles and the bourgeois to consult upon public affairs. At the time of his death, Pierre's rule extended from the Jura and Mont Blanc (then called Moudit), to the Aar. It included Savoy, Chablais, Faucigny, Vaud, Romont, Payerne, Aubonne, Estavayer, Moudon, Yverdon, Cerlier, Gruniner and Mutiger in the Siebenthal, besides being superior to the Counts and Bishops of Geneva, Neuchâtel, Basel, Nidau, Gruyère, etc. Pierre was succeeded by his brother Philippe, a man of weak and unambitious temperament, and from his time the House of Savoy gradually lost place and power where formerly it had enjoyed so much prestige. With the exception of Savoy Palace, which was given as an endowment to the Hospice of the Great St. Bernard, the English property was left to Queen Eleanor.

About the middle of the 12th century another of

those spasmodic religious revivals that so frequently occur among semi-civilised people swept over Switzerland, though without apparently leaving any material good results. Many instances of individual enthusiasm took place, but all were eclipsed by the marvellous career of a foreigner, who, after settling in the country, suddenly raised a storm the memory of which has never ceased to cause wonder. Amongst all the extraordinary instances of successful fanaticism that mark religious history, few equal the story of Arnold of Brescia. Arnold, himself an Italian priest and a pupil of the famous Abelard, was a man endowed with the gift of great eloquence, and possessed abilities of a very high order. Early in his life he was moved to indignation by the many glaring instances that then so undermined the influence for good of his Church. Especially the shameless licentiousness and corruption that filled the highest places aroused his indignation. After creating a rising in his native town by his preaching he was expelled from Italy, and obliged to take refuge in France. Here his restless and enthusiastic spirit soon embroiled him with the Church authorities, and once more he was forced to seek safety in flight. After wandering through many hostile lands he at last found an asylum in Zürich, where he remained five years. He boldly attacked the abuses of the Church, the celibacy of the priesthood, and the Pope's claims concerning temporal power. Compelled to leave Zürich through a decree of the Bishop of Constanz, Arnold collected a band of some two thousand enthusiastic admirers, chiefly from the neighbouring Alpine regions, and at once marched with this diminutive army against Rome itself, where a revolutionary movement was then taking place. Arrived at Rome he placed himself at the

Arnold of Brescia.

head of the rebels, and succeeded in expelling the Pope and establishing a Republic. After being almost worshipped for several years, the fickle Italians tired of Arnold's rigid rule and delivered him over to the German Emperor, Frederick I., by whose orders he was strangled, his body burnt, and his ashes cast into the Tiber (1155). This result was probably in great measure due to the bold course taken by Pope Adrian IV., in placing the Holy City under a ban of excommunication, an act without precedent, and one that struck the superstitious Romans with the greatest awe, though they had so shortly before not scrupled to set the temporal authority of the Pontiff at defiance, and even forcibly compel him to quit the city.

A.D. 1155.

Religious Orders.

Second only in importance to the revival effects of the religious life in Switzerland is the place occupied by the labours of the pious and energetic men forming the confraternities of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic. The progress of these orders was most rapid and their influence immense. The example of their great and saintly founders remained the dominating force that animated the members, though in later years these examples have been much lost sight of in the introduction of political aims. It would be difficult to point to any two bodies of men that have done so much lasting good for the people of Switzerland as the original little band, and their descendants, of Franciscan monks who in 1209, and that of the Dominicans who in 1215, crossed the mountain frontiers of Switzerland, to labour among the neglected and ignorant peasants of that country, without any other reward than the privilege of carrying forward the work of Christ. It was not long before flourishing establishments of the two orders made their

appearance in several of the chief centres, the principal ones, belonging to the Franciscans, being situated in Freyberg, Luzern and Solothurn, Basel, Zürich, Bern, Geneva and Lausanne. The Dominicans also had large fields of work in the five last-named towns.[1] Besides these two religious bodies the Templars had settlements at Geneva and at Choux, near Constanz, and the Hospitalers in Freyberg.

House of Habsburg.

During the latter years of the reign of Pierre de Savoie, as has been already stated, his neighbour Count Rudolph of Habsburg attacked him, but was decisively repulsed. This and several other reverses did not, however, prevent Rudolph from eventually becoming

1 The founder of the Order of Franciscans, St. Francis of Assisi in Umbria, was born in 1182. After leading a vicious life, he suddenly became converted, and devoted the remainder of his days to preaching in poverty, as enjoined by the Scriptures. His eloquence, his enthusiasm, and the purity of his later life and conduct soon attracted many followers of a like disposition, and in 1208 he founded his order and obtained the church of Portiuncula, belonging to the Benedictine monks of Subiaco, who gave it that name because it was built on a small portion of land belonging to them. Here he held a chapter in 1219, at which 5,000 of his friars were present. Having thoroughly organised his order he repaired to Egypt, and tried in vain to convert the ruler, the powerful Soldan El Mélek el Kárnel (1215-1236). He died at Assisi in 1226, and four years later was canonised. His followers, the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, wore a loose grey habit, with a cowl or mozetta, and, when abroad, a cloak in addition, walking barefooted. They came to England in 1226, and formed their first settlement at Canterbury. It would be difficult to find a more perfectly saintly life than that of St. Francis. The Dominicans, or Black Friars, formed the mendicant order founded by St. Dominic, a Spaniard, who was born in Catagueraga in 1170. He died in 1221, and was canonised in 1235. The order wore black garments and lived in poverty. Their chief aim was to convert Jews and heretics, and preach the gospel to all men. The Dominicans came to England early in the 13th century, and founded at Oxford their first settlement in 1221.

the most powerful of European sovereigns, and founding a dynasty destined to last through many centuries, the ruler of a large portion of the civilised world. The growth of the Habsburgs is in every way extremely striking, but no member of that remarkable family bears such a halo of romance and success around his name as Count Rudolph. He owed his rise to his good qualities and his good fortune alone, without the aid of those scandalous crimes or daring intrigues which have but too frequently been the means adopted by the great heroes of history to pave the path to thrones and high honours.

Gontram. The first founder of the house of which history takes any prominent note was an obscure Alsatian noble named Radbot, grandson of that Gontram, Count of Elsass, who, owing to his opposition to the Emperor, was deprived of his estates, and settled on a small property at Wohlen, on the Reuss. Both Gontram and his son Lanzalin, who lived at the Castle of Altenberg, near the Aar, succeeded by acts of cruelty, cunning and robbery in gradually extending their territories, and in exacting feudal rights over the free peasants in several important villages in their neighbourhood, as also of those of Muri. On Lanzalin's death in 990, his son Radbod continued the policy of his predecessors, and so still further increased his possessions. He exercised the greatest cruelty in his wholesale thefts, and often for the slightest offence seized the goods of the unfortunate peasants and confiscated their lands. He built a castle at Muri and married Ida, daughter of the Duke of Lotharingia (Lorraine) and niece to Capet, the founder of the third French dynasty. Having by this alliance rehabilitated

A.D. 946.

Lanzalin, died A.D. 990.

Radbod.

his character, which was strikingly bad even in those savage days, when the highest and often only right was the *Faustrecht*, or right of the strongest, Radbod appears to have settled down to a life of 11th century respectability and ceased from further theft and murder. His wife aided these good intentions by building a monastery at Muri, as reparation for the many crimes of her husband and his relations, a form of conscience-quieting common at that time. This same monastery rapidly grew in wealth, learning and fame, and soon took high rank amongst the many similar institutions scattered over the country. In 1020 A.D. 1020. Radbod, the better to protect himself from his numerous enemies, built a fortified castle on the wooded heights of the Wülpelsberg, and named it Habsburg.[1] From this period the heads of the family took the titles of Counts of Habsburg, having previously figured as Counts of *Habsburg.* Altenberg. The period of rest from plundering seems to have lasted but a brief time, as shortly afterwards the Habsburgs, having collected a number of well-armed and unscrupulous followers succeeded in acquiring possession of several valuable properties situated in the present Cantons of Luzern and Unterwalden, besides the Countships of Zürichgau,[2] a territory extending from the Rhine to Schwyx.

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1 The original meaning of this name has given rise to much controversy. Of the many derivations put forward by different authorities, one of the three following appears the most probably correct. *Habicht's*, the hawk's, *burg*, castle; the Keltic *Gibhis*, a valley, and *burg*, a castle; referring to the valley that skirted the *Wülpelsberg;* by a change of *v* into *b*, from *Terra Airatica*, in reference to the castle being built on an estate hereditary in the family. Wülpelsberg is derived from the Keltic *vith*, a rock, *bal*, a mountain = the rocky mountain.

2 Zürichgau, *i.e.*, the district of Zürich; *gau* is a division or

Rudolph of Habsburg, A.D. 1218-91.

Rudolph, the future German Emperor, was born in 1218. His parents were Albrecht, Count of Habsburg, who died a Crusader in 1240, and Hedwege of Kyburg, a descendant of the Zäringens. At his baptism Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, acted as godfather to him. Rudolph early showed the qualities that in after life stood him in such good stead. Warm-hearted, impulsive, brave though not foolhardy, possessing grace and dignity of manner, generous in the hour of triumph, sympathetic to the weak, a true friend and a bitter enemy, he never lost sight of his own advancement or neglected an opportunity of mounting higher ambition's steps towards power and wealth. Most of his early manhood was passed amidst tempestuous scenes of war brought about by the chronic troubles between the nobles themselves, and between the nobles and the free towns. During the troublous times of the interregnum that followed the death of Conrad IV., he took an active part in many of the more important battles that occurred in his neighbourhood.

A.D. 1254.

Before attaining the age of forty, Rudolph's impulsive and ambitious nature brought down the wrath of all the members of his own family upon him, as well as made him numerous enemies among the surrounding nobles. His maternal uncle, the Count of Kyburg, disinherited him, and for burning a convent whilst attacking

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district, whilst *au* is a meadow containing trees, usually applied to such situated along the banks of rivers.

Emperors of Germany.—Rudolph of Habsburg (1272-91); Adolphus, Duke of Nassau (1291-98); Albert I. of Austria, son of Rudolph (1298-1308); Henry VII. of Luxenburg (1308-14); Louis of Bavaria (1314-47); Charles IV. of Luxenburg, King of Bohemia (1347-78); Wenceslaus, son of Charles (1378-1410); Sigismund, brother to Wenceslaus (1411-37); Albert II. of Austria (1437-39).

the Bishop of Basel, he was placed under a ban of excommunication. He then took service under Ottocarus, King of Bohemia, and fought valiantly against the hordes of infidels that were then threatening that sovereign. He next joined Zürich in a victorious attack on Ulric, the powerful Baron of Regensberg, who had succeeded in ruining the trade of the town between Italy and A.D. 1266
Germany. After many other minor wars, in most of which Rudolph lent his aid to one or other of the towns against their natural enemies the nobles, he attacked, in 1273, the Bishop of Basel, as the citizens of that town A.D. 1273.
had killed some of Rudolph's friends for grossly insulting their wives and daughters during the carnival. Whilst besieging the town, news was brought by the German Imperial Marshal that at a general assembly of the prince-electors recently held at Frankfort, Rudolph had been chosen Emperor. This unexpected decision was arrived at owing to the general wish that the fearful anarchy that then prevailed throughout the Empire should be brought to a close, and amongst the many rivals to the throne none could command sufficient support to make his reign sufficiently strong to put down the general turbulence. Rudolph's success in arms, his personal charm of manner, and his protection of the towns procured him the support of the latter, whilst the powerful nobles and the Church hoped to use him as a tool to further their own interests. On the besieged citizens of Basel learning the news of Rudolph's elevation, they at once threw open their gates and made their submission. They then, together with the chief men from most of the centres of Switzerland, formed a deputation to accompany their highly-honoured countryman to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was formally installed in

his new position. How false were the hopes of those who favoured Rudolph's election from motives of using him to further their personal interests, was soon seen by the new Emperor's conduct of public affairs. He at once set about creating order out of anarchy, by bringing the turbulent nobility to subjection with a strong hand. This task he steadily pursued till his object was accomplished, and his authority felt and acknowledged by all.

On his accession to the imperial throne Rudolph's possessions included the chief portions of the united patrimonies of the Houses of Zäringen, Lenzberg and Kyburg, which meant the greater part of the present Cantons of Aargau, Zug, Thurgau, Bern and Luzern, the towns of Sursee, Sempach and Winterthur, the wardenship of the Waldstätten, of the convent of Sechingen, and other places, besides of Burgundy from
A.D. 1277. Thun to Aarwangen. In 1277 he further acquired the town of Freyburg, thus possessing a very large portion of Helvetia. Most of these estates came by inheritance through Rudolph's mother. In addition, as Emperor, his rule extended over Germany, the Netherlands, Lorraine, Upper Burgundy, Savoy, Northern Italy, and Swabia. The greater number of these territories were then in a condition little, if at all, removed from anarchy, and Rudolph's task in establishing his supreme authority was therefore difficult in the extreme. His first step was to put himself on good terms with the Church by renouncing all jurisdiction over Rome and in ecclesiastical matters generally, reserving only to himself the right of "imperial investiture" of newly-
A.D. 1275. elected bishops. In 1275, on the occasion of the consecration of the recently completed Cathedral of Lausanne, which ceremony obtained special importance

from being performed by Pope Gregory X. in person, Rudolph, attended by all the chief princes and nobles of the Empire, solemnly took the oath as Emperor. He further undertook to repair to Rome *(Römerzug)* in the following year to be there crowned by the Pontiff. Having thus stayed the strife that for so long had raged between the Empire and Rome, Rudolph put down several revolts of his warlike and restless nobles, and then declared war against his powerful neighbour Ottocarus, King of Bohemia, who refused to acknowledge him. As Ottocarus' kingdom extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic, he possessed ample opportunities of greatly injuring the German Empire. After a brilliant and rapid campaign, in which the Bohemian King was completely defeated at every point, Rudolph annexed the whole country, with the exception of Bohemia proper and Moravia, and out of these extensive territories founded the future Empire of Austria (1282). At this period Bohemia consisted, A.D. 1282. besides the country of that name, of Styria, Carinthia, Moravia and Austria.[1] After the termination of this victorious campaign, Rudolph once more set about the

1 Austria, *Oestrich* (Eastern kingdom), was in ancient times known as Noricum, being a portion of the important Roman Province of Pannonia. In the 5th and 6th centuries it was overrun by the Huns and Avars. In 791 Charlemagne took possession of it, and established *Margraves* as its local rulers. These developed in 1142 into *Dukes*, of whom Henry II. was the first, and in 1493 into *Archdukes*, Maximilian being the first. Of the long-enduring and powerful dynasty that owes its origin to the rise of Rudolph, Planta, writing in 1800, sums up the characteristics as follows:—"Few virtues, and a still smaller share of magnanimity, but a happy coincidence of circumstances, and, above all, an inflexible adherence to a system of aggrandisement, have raised this house to the highest rank in the Christian world."

seemingly impossible feat of establishing law and order amongst his unruly nobles. After many and sanguinary conflicts, in which the Emperor was greatly assisted by the steady support he received from the Swiss municipal centres, he at length succeeded in effectually establishing the supremacy of his power, and compelling the nobles to swear before successive Diets to maintain peace, to consent to the destruction of many of their fortresses, and to submit all future disputes amongst themselves to arbitration, instead of at once rushing into hostilities and plunging the country into the miseries of war. Continuing his policy of strengthening the position of the towns in order to counteract the power of the nobles, Rudolph bestowed many benefits on several of the most important of the cities of Switzerland. He especially singled out Solothurn, Zürich and Schaffhausen as the recipients of his favours, by bestowing on them special privileges that practically made them independent. He, moreover, granted extended privileges to Aarau, Bienne, Luzern, Winterthur, Laupen and other towns, that greatly increased their freedom. He even forgave the city of Bern (that almost alone among the Swiss towns showed him no particular affection), after defeating her troops when they had sided with
A.D. 1291. one of the risings fomented by the nobles. On this occasion Bern managed for a considerable time to hold her own, but was finally forced to surrender, when, on Rudolph promising to confirm her liberties and existing rights, she made a full submission, and agreed to pay her share of the imperial taxes.

Rudolph's wish to revive the old Burgundian kingdom as a gift to his favourite son, Hartmann, led to a collision with Savoy, as the latter's territories

were thereby endangered. Open hostilities followed, in which the Emperor made two successful campaigns against the country that had formerly defeated him, but the untimely death of Hartmann, who was drowned whilst crossing the Rhine, brought the war to a close.

In 1291 the Emperor added to his Helvetian pos- A.D. 1291.
sessions by purchasing the town of Luzern from the Abbey of Murbach, together with its rights in Unterwalden. He further acquired territories in the chief portions of the present Cantons of St. Gallen and Glarus. Rudolph's relations with Helvetia appear to have remained of the most cordial kind till his death, and even at the height of his power, and when most occupied with matters involving vast and important interests, he never omitted an opportunity of listening to and, if possible, adjusting difficulties in his native land. The towns, for their part, and the people of Switzerland generally, seldom failed to supply him generously with men and money to maintain his position, and remained loyal and affectionate to him all through his brilliant career. He raised the Bishop of Lausanne and the Abbot of Einsiedeln to the rank of princes of the empire, and extended his protection to Lausanne and Freyburg against the encroachments of Savoy.

Rudolph lived, active to the last for the welfare A.D. 1291
of his country, till the age of seventy-three, and died in 1291. He was regretted, in spite of his personal ambition and his wars, by the vast majority of his subjects, for the firm attitude he always maintained against the aggression of the nobles, for the benefits he conferred on the towns, for his justness and benevolence to the poor, and for the wisdom he displayed in

the conduct of his government. His uprightness and wisdom, indeed, became proverbial, and his religious fervour is undoubted. He may truly be called the second restorer of the Empire; none of his predecessors, excepting Charlemagne, ever procured such benefits for it. He owed much to good fortune; he was still more indebted to his own merit—(Durham). He raised himself from "the huts of his ancestors to an imperial throne," and from the position of a petty Swiss Count, who could view his possessions from his hall door, to that of the most powerful ruler of Western Europe.[1]

Switzerland was now but a small dependence of the vast and powerful German empire, under the government of a number of sub-rulers; but the time was rapidly approaching when, by the heroism of her people, she would cast off the foreign yoke and secure her national independence and freedom.

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1 Rudolph is described as tall in stature and of a graceful figure; he early became bald; his complexion was pale, his nose was aquiline; his countenance, though unusually grave, was subject to light up with geniality on occasion; his manners were easy, though dignified, without reserve or haughtiness; and his personality was such that few conversed with him without forming a strong attachment for him or feelings of respect for his character. Amid vicious surroundings, and living in a period when licentiousness was not considered a crime, Rudolph earned a reputation for strict morality in his private life. His personal ambition, which was great, seems seldom, if ever, to have led him to take an ungenerous advantage of a foe, or to use means other than honourable to attain his ends. He lost most of the passionate impulsiveness that disfigured his youth with the accession to years and responsibility, and his later life showed many instances when calm reasoning carried him through serious dangers and difficulties.

CHAPTER VIII

FOUNDATION OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

A.D. 1291-1344.

The period embraced by the 14th and the closing years of the 15th centuries is certainly the most important in the social and political history of the people of Switzerland. During that epoch the first marked effort at union amongst the inhabitants of different districts took place, out of which personal liberty and national independence were gradually evolved, culminating eventually in the Swiss Confederation of to-day.

Adolphus of Nassau, A.D. 1291-98.

Shortly after the death of Rudolph, a powerful noble, Adolphus, Count of Nassau, was elected to fill the imperial throne to the exclusion of Albrecht, Duke of Austria, the late Emperor's sole surviving son. This refusal on the part of the prince-electors to confer the management of Rudolph's empire on his son was due to the latter's misconduct of the affairs of his Duchy of Austria, and to the hosts of enemies his selfish ambition, cruelty and haughty repellent bearing, had already raised around him. But though Albrecht thus lost for a while the throne he had long impatiently waited for through the hatred his personal characteristics inspired, he wasted no time in futile regrets, but at once set about preparing to take by force what he was unable to obtain by favour. He possessed in a marked degree the qualities that make a bold and successful soldier, and probably

never showed to better advantage than when grappling with the obstacles in his path to power. By the exercise of the utmost energy and resource he brought together a large and highly efficient force, well armed for every emergency, especially for what in those days was rare, for the capturing of fortified towns. His personal courage and military administrative abilities made up in great measure for his lack of those other qualities that attract the multitude, and it was not long before he found many influential nobles and free-towns on his side who before were his opponents. Soon the struggle commenced in earnest, and the numerous battles and devastations that followed threw the empire once more into all the horrors of a sanguinary civil war, in which Helvetia, as usual, suffered greatly. Here Albrecht's principal opponents were those who formerly were the strongest and most constant supporters of his father, and Zürich, Basel, Uri, Schwyx, Rapperswyl, and other important cities, besides the Bishops of St. Gallen and Constanz, all threw in their lot with the reigning Emperor. Adolphus sustained his position, though each succeeding year found him more feeble both in mind and in body and supported by fewer followers, till 1298, when his main army was defeated at the battle of Gœtheim and he himself slain. Not long afterwards his victor mounted the vacant throne of Germany.

A.D. 1298.

During the many serious encounters that took place in Switzerland whilst this seven years' contest was in progress for the imperial crown, great damage and much loss of life specially took place within the territories of the Bishop of Constanz and the Abbot of St. Gallen. Both these militant clerics, although they offered a long and stubborn resistance, were often

defeated by Albrecht, and had their possessions devastated. Many towns, Wyl amongst the number, as well as castles and villages, were completely destroyed by fire and sword, and thousands of peasants were ruthlessly slain, or perished by disease and famine. An interesting example of what was at this time looked upon as legitimate strategy is afforded by the following account, taken from an old author, of the signal defeat of the Zürich troops by the supporters of Albrecht. The Burghers of Zürich, headed by Frederick, Count of Toggenburg, their captain, attacked and defeated the Burghers of Winterthur, commanded by their *avoyer*, Hopler. Elated with their first success, they advanced towards the town, which, with the help of a reinforcement they expected from the Bishop of Constanz, they were confident of reducing; but Hugo, Count of Weidenberg, the Duke's commander in these parts, resolved to try the fortune of the day, before the arrival of the auxiliaries. It chanced that a messenger despatched by the men of Zürich to the Bishop fell into the hands of Hugo, who thereupon instantly sent a trusty person with a suppositious answer, as coming from the Bishop, to this effect. "We rejoice at the news of your victory, and will be with you to-morrow at noon. This letter will be delivered to you by one who is better acquainted with the by-roads than your messenger: acquaint us, through him, which way we shall advance to meet you." Hugo affixed to this scroll a seal from a letter he had formerly himself received from the Bishop. In the course of the night he caused an episcopal flag to be manufactured. Another messenger was also despatched with instructions to the *avoyer*, Hopler, and the garrison was meanwhile rein-

forced by a detachment from Schaffhausen. On the morrow, while the unguarded troops of Zürich were viewing with joy the approach of the bishop's banner, they found themselves on a sudden furiously assailed by Count Wiedenberg and Hopler, and sustained a signal overthrow, to the indelible disgrace of their banner and disparagement of their military fame. Few were suffered to escape, and by this well-conducted strategem Zürich was ultimately compelled to accept a separate peace with Albrecht, and to agree to fight under his command (1292).

A.D. 1292.

It is now necessary to trace the origin and progress of the early efforts made by a handful of heroic peasants, living in the mountains of an isolated and almost unknown portion of Switzerland, to bring about agreement and union for mutual protection and support, as their efforts were destined, at no very distant time, to cause changes in the whole country of the first importance, and to lead eventually to national unity, the absence of which kept Switzerland for many centuries little better than one huge battle-ground, and prevented civilisation from making any material advance.

Birth and Growth of Swiss Freedom.

At the time of Rudolph's death, in 1291, the whole of Helvetia formed but a small portion of the vast German Empire, and as such was divided into various districts, under the rule of feudal nobles, monasteries, or free-towns, which latter, having self-government, were subject to the much-coveted privilege of being answerable only to the Emperor himself. Though the inhabitants of many of the larger *burgs* possessed all the advantages of personal liberty and power, the great mass of the Swiss peasants was still, to all intents and purposes, in a condition of serfdom. Except in some

favoured districts, where the milder rule of the monasteries had bettered their condition, or where the exceptionable humanity or weakness of individual nobles allowed a greater measure of freedom, their lot was most wretched. Divided by language, race, local interests, and often shut off by their geographical position; constantly harassed by war and treatment the most brutal, with the burden of chronic abject poverty, the rural populations of Switzerland had so far been unable to assert their rights by combination—a method that, sooner or later, at all times, in all countries, has proved the surest safeguard of the poor and defenceless against the oppression of the rich and the powerful. To the men of Schwyx, Uri and Unterwalden, those mountainous districts bordering the Lake of Luzern, belongs the honour of being the first pioneers in the struggle to free their country from foreign rule, and to lay the foundation of personal liberty and a free and united nationality.[1] *The Waldstätten.*

A thorough understanding of the position occupied by the heroic and patriotic inhabitants of Schwyx, Uri and Unterwalden is necessary, in order to follow the progress of events that originated in these districts, and that so soon changed the whole political aspect of

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1 The Swiss are never wearied of singing the praises of these early heroes of liberty, and it is the small and mountainous divisions of the Waldstätten that are always regarded as the home and birthplace of their country's freedom. The feeling is characteristically expressed by the couplet prominently displayed on the chapel of Küssnacht, as over others, in Switzerland:—

"Wo Demuth weint und Hochmuth lacht,
Da ward der Schweizerbund gemacht."

Which may be translated by—

"Where humility weeps and pride laughs with scorn,
Is the spot where Switzerland's union was born."

Switzerland. The following *resumé* of what is now known concerning the early inhabitants of these mountains, taken from the scholarly and concise writings of the Rev. W. A. Coolidge, probably the greatest English authority on the subject, will elucidate and carry on their history, and embodies all the main facts. "The legal and political conditions of all (Schwyx, Uri and Unterwalden) differed. (*a*) In 853, Louis the German granted (*inter alia*) all his lands (and the rights annexed to them), situated in the 'Pagellus Uroniæ' (Canton Uri) to the convent of Saints Felix and Regula, in Zürich . . . . and gave to this district the privilege of exemption from all jurisdiction, save that of the King (*Reichsfreiheit*). The abbey thus became possessed of the greater part of the valley of the Reuss, between the Devil's Bridge and the Lake of Luzern, for the upper valley of Urseren belonged at that time to the Abbey of Dissentis, in the Rhine Valley, and did not become permanently allied with Uri till 1410. . . . The important post of 'Protector' (*Advocatus* or *vogt*) of the abbey was given to one family after another by the Emperor as a sign of trust; but when, on the extinction of the House of Zäringen in 1218, the office was granted to the Habsburgs, the protests of the abbey tenants . . . led to the recall of the grant in 1231, the valley being thus restored to its original privileged position, and depending immediately on the Emperor. (*b*) In Schwyx we must distinguish between the valleys west and east of Steinen. In the former the land was in the hands of many nobles, amongst whom were the Habsburgs; in the latter there was, at the foot of the Mythen, a free community of men governing themselves and cultivating their lands in common; both, however, were politically

subject to the Emperor's delegates, the Counts of the Zürichgau, who, after 1173, were the ever-advancing Habsburgs. But, in 1240, the free community of Schwyx obtained from the Emperor Frederick II. a charter which removed them from the jurisdiction of the counts, placing them in immediate dependence on the Emperor, like the abbey men of Uri. In a few years, however, the Habsburgs contrived to dispense with this charter in practice. (*c*) In Unterwalden things were very different. The upper valley (Obwald or Sarnen, so called because of its position with regard to the Kernwald), formed part of the Aargau, the lower (Nidwald or Stanz) part of the Zürichgau, while in both the soil was owned by many ecclesiastical and lay lords, among them being the Habsburgs and the Alsatian Abbey of Murbach. Hence in this district there were no privileged tenants, no free community, no centre of unity, and this explains why Obwald and Nidwald won their way upward so much more slowly than their neighbours in Uri and Schwyx. . . .

"In 1273 the head of the cadet line (*of the Habsburgs*) sold all his lands and rights in the Forest districts to the head of the elder or Alsatian line. Rudolph, a few months later, was elected to the imperial throne, in virtue of which he acquired for his family, in 1283, the Duchy of Austria, which now for the first time became connected with the Habsburgs. . . . Rudolph recognised the privileges of Uri, but not those of Schwyx; and as he now united in his own person the characters of Emperor, Count of the Zürichgau and of the Aargau, and landowner in the Forest districts (a name occurring first in 1289), such an union of offices might be expected to result in a confusion of rights. On April 16th, 1291,

Rudolph bought from the Abbey of Murbach in Elsass (of which he was 'advocate'), all its rights over the town of Luzern and the Abbey estates in Unterwalden. It thus seemed probable that the other Forest districts would be shut off from their natural means of communication with the outer world by way of the Lake. Rudolph's death, on July 15th of the same year, cleared the way, and a fortnight later (August 1st), the everlasting League was made between the men of Uri, Schwyx and Nidwald (the words 'et vallis superioris,' *i.e.*, Obwald, were inserted later on the original seal of Nidwald), for the purpose of self-defence against a common foe. The common seal—that great outward sign of the right of a corporate body to act in its own name, without needing to ask the permission of any external authority—appears first in Uri in 1243, in Schwyx in 1281, in Nidwald not till this very document of 1291, yet despite the great differences in their political status, they all joined in concluding this League, and confirmed it by their separate seals, thereby laying claim on behalf of their union to an independent existence. Besides promises of aid and assistance in the case of attack, they agreed to punish great criminals by their own authority, but advise that in minor cases, and in all civil cases, each man should recognise the 'judex' to whom he owes suit, engaging that the confederates will, in case of need, enforce the decisions of the 'judex.' At the same time they unanimously refuse to recognise any 'judex' who has bought his charge, or is a stranger to the valleys. All disputes between the parties to the treaty are, as far as possible, to be settled by a reference to arbiters, a principle that remained in force for over five hundred years. 'Judex' is a general

term for any local official, especially the chief of the community, whether named by the lord or by the community, and, as earlier in the same year Rudolph had promised the men of Schwyx not to force upon them a 'judex' belonging to the class of serfs, we may conjecture from this very decided protest that the chief source of disagreement was in the matter of the jurisdictions of the lord of the free community, and that some recent event in Schwyx led it to insist on the insertion of this provision. It is stipulated also that every man shall be bound to obey his own lord 'convenienter,' or so far as is fitting and right.

"Like many other 'principles,' that so prominently mentioned in this League of settling all disputes between members of the Confederation by reference to arbitration, very soon became little more than an expression, as the long and melancholy history of Swiss civil wars, culminating in the terrible fratricidal encounters of the Sonderbund in 1847, but too plainly shows. It is well to remember that this League was composed of men from *German* districts only, and that Germans alone joined it in its further growth till as late as the beginning of the present century. The document embodying the terms of the original agreement was written in Latin, while that of the renewal in 1315 appears in German"—("Encyc. Brit.," Vol. 22).

Such was the condition of the people of the mountainous districts known as the Waldstätten or Forest Cantons when Albrecht, Duke of Austria, ascended the imperial throne of Germany. Among the Swiss peasants Albrecht was regarded as a cruel, ambitious, and unjust ruler, one who had already signalised his administration in Austria by many acts

Albrecht I., A.D. 1298-1308.

of tyranny and by curtailing considerably the privileges enjoyed by many free towns. The loyalty they had displayed towards his predecessor and rival, and the resistance they had already offered to his pretensions to the crown, were not, they felt, likely to pass without punishment, now that Albrecht possessed the reins of power. Not long after Albrecht's election the first threatening of the coming storm appeared in the form of an urgent and haughty message from the Emperor urging the Waldstätten to renounce their "imperial liberties." This much-prized safeguard against local oppression they were in no humour to cede voluntarily. In order the better to induce the peasants to submit to his wishes, or in order to stir them up to revolt, and thus give an excuse for attacking them, Albrecht despatched certain baillies or landvögten (instead of as formerly sending imperial officers) loyal to his interests, to act as Local Governors in the different districts of the Waldstätten (Forest States). Contrary to all usage, he chose most of these, not from the men of repute among the people themselves, but from his own immediate followers. The fair promises of the baillies at first induced the peasants to submit to their rule, but their conduct soon became so unjust and tyrannical that a general rising took place, in which their castles were destroyed and they themselves either killed or obliged to seek safety in flight (1308).

Austrian Baillies.

Expulsion of Baillies, A.D. 1308.

There can be little doubt that most of the many stories related by the Swiss of the cruelty and extortion of the Austrian baillies are wholly or in great part devoid of an historical basis of truth, as are the dates given for their occurrence. They doubtless sprang from the very natural feelings of hatred the mountaineers of

the Forest State felt against a foreign master, who was probably only too ready to punish them for the part they took against him in the struggle for the imperial throne. Indeed, it was not till about two centuries after this period that any reference to the alleged cruelties of the Austrians can be found in the local records, though legends about them have been plentiful. Many and various are the stories that have come down to our times of the oppression and licentiousness of the baillies, most of which have probably gained much colour by constant repetition, even if they were not wholly created by imagination and hatred of the Austrian rule. According to these accounts, the local despots imposed exorbitant fines for trivial offences, and frequently sent prisoners to Zug and Luzern to be tried by Austrian judges; they levied enormously increased taxes and imports on every commodity, and exacted payment in the most merciless manner; they openly violated the liberties of the people, and chose every occasion to insult and degrade them. An oft-quoted instance of their cruelty is recorded of a baillie named Landenberg, who publicly reproved a peasant for living in a house above his station. On another occasion, having fined an old and much respected labourer named Henry of Melchi a yoke of oxen for an imaginary offence, the Governor's messenger jeeringly told the old man, who was lamenting that if he lost his cattle he could no longer earn his bread, that if he wanted to use a plough he had better draw it himself, being only a vile peasant. To this insult Henry's son Arnold responded by attacking the messenger and breaking his fingers, and then, fearing lest his act should bring down some serious punishment, fled to the mountains, and left his

aged father to Landenberg's vengeance. The baillie confiscated his little property, imposed a heavy fine, and finally burned out both his eyes. The hot irons used in this barbarous punishment, the Swiss are fond of saying, went deeper than the tyrant intended, and penetrated to the hearts and aroused the sympathies of their ancestors to perform such acts of heroism that tyranny fled in fear from the land. The conduct of Arnold, however, can hardly at this period of his life warrant the eulogies bestowed upon his memory, though he subsequently figures as one of the "Men of Rütli." Landenberg lived in a castle near Sarnen, in Unterwalden, where his imperious temper, his exactions, his cruelties, and his debaucheries aroused a universal feeling of hatred amongst the peasants that culminated in his expulsion and the destruction of his stronghold. The latter is popularly believed to have occurred on the 1st of January, 1308. As the baillie left his castle to attend mass, some forty determined peasants, who had already bound themselves by oath to free their country at a solemn meeting on the steep promontory over the Lake of Luzern known as the Rütli, appeared before him carrying sheep, fowls, and other customary presents, and thus gained admission to the castle. No sooner were they past the gates, when, drawing the weapons they had till then concealed beneath their clothes, they disarmed the guard and took possession of the fortress. Other conspirators were admitted, and the people at once rose in revolt. Landenberg, hearing while still at church of what had occurred, managed to effect his escape, and fled to Luzern. Of the other baillies, Gessler and Wolfenschiess are believed to have excited even more hatred than their colleague Landenberg, and

to have exceeded him in acts of savage cruelty and vicious living. One example out of many similar ones will show the spirit in which the Swiss traditions have treated the memory of Wolfenschiess. On a certain day, finding that a peasant named Conrad, of Baumgarten, whose wife he had frequently tried in vain to seduce, was absent from home, Wolfenschiess entered Conrad's house and ordered his wife to prepare him a bath, at the same time renewing with ardour his former proposals. With the cunning of her sex, the wife feigned to be willing to accede to his wishes, and on the pretence of retiring to another room to undress sped to her husband, who quickly returned and slew Wolfenschiess whilst he was still in the bath. After this exploit an entrance was effected into the baillie's castle of Rotzberg by one of the conspirators, who was in the habit of paying nightly visits to a servant living in the castle, by means of a rope attached to her window, and who then admitted his companions, who were lying concealed in the moat. But, probably in consequence of his supposed connection with the legend of William Tell, the baillie to whom the name of Gessler has been given stands out more prominently in Swiss history than any other.

Gessler's residence, according to tradition, was a strongly fortified castle built in the valley of Uri, near Altdorf, and this he named *Zwing Uri* (Uri's restraint). He used every means that cruelty or avarice could suggest in his conduct as Governor, and incurred additional hatred from the methods he adopted to discover the members of a secret conspiracy he believed existed against him in the district. With this object in view, Gessler caused a pole surmounted with the ducal cap

of Austria to be set up in the market-place at Altdorf, before which emblem of authority he ordered every man to uncover and do reverence as he passed. The refusal of a peasant to obey this command, his arrest, trial, and condemnation to pierce with an arrow an apple placed on his own child's head, his dexterity in performing this feat, his escape from his enemies, his murder of the tyrant Gessler, the solemn compact sworn at Rütli, and the revolutionary events that followed, form the motive of the much-celebrated legend of William Tell. The mythical hero of this shadowy romance has long embodied in his person the virtues of the typical avenger of the wrongs of the poor and the oppressed against the tyranny of the rich and the powerful; his name has been honoured and his manly deeds have been lauded in prose and verse by thousands in many lands for many centuries, exciting doubtless many a noble deed of self-denial, and spurring to the forefront many a popular act of patriotic daring. In Switzerland certainly this picturesque representative of Liberty has done much to mould the political life, if not also to write many pages of the history of the people, and that in spite of the questionable morality of the received narrative of his career, and its unquestionable untruth. The emergence of the Swiss from slavery to freedom, as in the case of all other nations, was undoubtedly a gradual process, and there is now every reason for believing that the narratives relating to William Tell and the other heroes who are said to have been the prime instruments in the expulsion of the Austrian baillies from the districts of the Waldstätten are purely apocryphal, with a possible substratum of actual fact. It is sad for an individual, and still more so for a nation, to lose the

Legend of William Tell.

illusions of youth, if not of innocence, and to awake to the knowledge of an unbeautiful reality, bereft of all fictitious adornment. When, however, the naked truth can be discovered (and that is seldom the case) it must be faced; if the national or individual mind cannot receive it, the fault lies with the immaturity or morbid condition of the former, not with the material of the latter.

As the legend of William Tell is more devoid of actual historical foundation, and is more widely known and believed than are the many others related as the records of events happening at the period from which the Swiss date their independence, it may be as well to devote some little space to its consideration, though the legends and ballads of Switzerland form no part of the scope of this work. All the local records that might possibly throw some light on the existence and career of Tell have now been thoroughly searched by many impartial and competent scholars, as well as by enthusiastic partisans, with the invariable result that till a considerable lapse of years after the presumed date of their deaths, not one particle of evidence has been discovered tending to prove the identity of either William Tell, or of the tyrant Gessler. On the other hand, many local authorities, as early as the beginning of the 15th and 16th centuries, when the story was fully established, have gone out of their way to deny its truth and prove its entire falsity from their own researches. Materials, indeed, are many relating to the events that befel the Waldstätten during their conflicts with the baillies, whom they succeeded in expelling from their country, and it seems in the highest degree improbable that had Tell and his friends lived and taken

so prominent a part in effecting their country's freedom that is popularly assigned to them, that they should have been entirely ignored by all contemporary writers, as well as by subsequent ones, for a hundred and fifty or two hundred years—yet such is the case.

William Tell is supposed to have performed his heroic deeds in or about the year 1291, and not till between 1467 and 1474 are his acts recorded, when in a collection of the traditions of the Canton of Unterwalden, transcribed by a notary at Sarnen, an account is given of the apple episode and the subsequent escape of the famous archer, and his murder of Gessler, though nothing is said of his having taken part in a league to free his country, or of his being the founder of the Confederation. A little earlier to the compilation of the "White Book of Sarnen," as this collection is called, an anonymous poet composed a "Song of the Origin of the Confederation," in which, although no reference is made to Gessler, the other details are related concerning William Tell shooting at the apple, the revolt of the peasants, the expulsion of the baillies, and the formation of a patriotic league. It is, of course, quite possible that a Gessler *was* killed by the peasants, as the name was common enough at the time, but no member of that family (the records of which have now been most carefully traced) held any office under the Austrians at that period in any of the Waldstätten, nor is it at all probable that Austrian baillies governed the districts later than 1231. Neither is it possible for a baillie named Gessler to have occupied the castle at the date assigned, the ruins of which have so long been pointed out as being those of his former abode. So, also, the celebrated Tell's chapel on the Vier Waldstätten See, at Küsnach,

was certainly *not* built to commemorate the exploits of Schiller's and Rossini's Swiss hero.

"The fact is, that in Gessler we are confronted by a curious case of confusion in identity. At least three totally different men seem to have been blended into one in the course of an attempt to reconcile the different versions of the three cantons. Felix Hemmerlin, of Zürich, in 1450, tells of a Habsburg governor being on the little island of Schwanan, in the Lake of Lowerz, who seduced a maid of Schwyx, and was killed by her brothers. Then there was another person, strictly historical, Knight Eppo, of Küsinach (Küsnacht), who, while acting as bailiff for the Duke of Austria, put down two revolts of the inhabitants in his district, one in 1284 and another in 1302. Finally, there was the tyrant bailiff mentioned in the ballad of Tell, whom, by the way, a chronicler writing in 1510 calls, not Gessler, but the Count of Seedorf. These three persons were combined, and the result was named Gessler"—("The Rise of the Swiss Republic").

Moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether the green plateau of the Rütli below Seelisberg, and some 650 feet above the lake, with its miraculous springs, ever witnessed the patriotic gathering of the thirty-three peasants whom tradition asserts there formed the league against Austrian rule, or heard the solemn oath they and their leaders, Stauffacher, Fürst and Arnold mutually swore.

In all probability the legend of Tell and the apple originated in Scandinavia, and was brought by the Allemanni into Switzerland, as into other lands. Saxo Grammaticus, in the Withina Saga, places the scene of a very similar story in that country, some 300 years before the appearance of the Swiss version, and tells of

a certain Danish king named Harold, the counterpart of Gessler, and one Toki, who played the same *rôle* enacted by Tell. Like legends are also related of Olaf, Eindridi, and an almost identical one to that of William Tell of Egil, who, being ordered by King Nidung to shoot an apple off the head of the son of the former, took two arrows from his quiver and prepared to obey. On the King asking why he had selected two arrows, Egil replied, "To shoot thee, tyrant, with the second, should the first fail." Neither are similar narratives absent from the legends of other countries. Thus Reginald Scott says, "Puncher shot a pennie on his son's head, and made ready another arrow to have slain the Duke of Rengrave who commanded it" (584). So also similar incidents occur in the tales of Adam Bell, "Clym of the Clough," and William of Claudeslie in the "Percy Ballads," and in the legends of many places in Northern Europe. On this subject Sir Francis Adams mentions, in a note to his valuable book on the Swiss Confederation, that a well-known citizen of Bern, in answer to his enquiry as to whether Tell ever existed, replied, "Not in Switzerland. If you travel in the Hasli districts (Meyringen, etc.) you will find a distinct race of men, who are of Scandinavian origin, and I believe that their ancestors brought the legend with them." To this it may be added that philologists have long since traced the rude dialect of Ober Hasli to its Scandinavian sources, and the physical characteristics of the people mark them as of different racial origin to those around them.

At the period these events were in progress, or, rather, about the time that the Austrian baillies were expelled, towards the close of the 13th century, the

Emperor's attention was too fully occupied in conducting a war against the Bishop of Basel to allow him to enforce his authority among the revolted Waldstätten. He did not, however, allow the peasants for long to enjoy the fruits of their energetic and successful action, as some six months later he headed a large army, with which he intended to enforce obedience. The expedition thus began led to Albrecht's tragic death, and reared another step leading to the final independence of the Swiss. On reaching Baden, in the Aargau, a halt was made in order to deliberate on the best mode of punishing the rebels. Here a general council of nobles decided, after careful deliberation, on the route to be taken, and the nature of the measures best calculated to enforce Albrecht's authority. On May 1st, 1308, the Emperor, with a few followers, returned to Rheinfelden, in order to visit the Empress Elizabeth preparatory to marching against the Waldstätten. Shortly before this time Albrecht had had a violent quarrel with his nephew John, son of Duke Rudolph of Swabia, touching the youth's paternal inheritance, which he persistently declined to allow John to take possession of, and whom he had, moreover, publicly insulted by offering him a coronet of twigs as the only recompense for his just claims. In spite of this quarrel Albrecht allowed John and four of his fastest friends to occupy a place in his suite when he left Baden to visit his consort. Albrecht's disregard of his nephew's resentment was further shown when the party arrived on the bank of the Reuss, as he allowed him, with his friends, to accompany him in the boat in which he crossed the river. The passage was made in safety, but just as the Emperor was stepping on shore (near the town of Windisch) John and three of his com-

Albrecht's Advance against the Waldstätten, A.D. 1308.

A.D. 1308.

Murder of Albrecht, May 1, 1308.

panions struck him down with their swords, and after inflicting a number of severe wounds left him for dead. The unhappy monarch expired a few minutes after in the arms of a passing peasant woman. All this bloody scene took place in full view of the Emperor's train on the opposite side of the river, though no one apparently was able to render him assistance, probably from the absence of boats and the suddenness of the tragedy. The murderers succeeded in making good their escape, though two of them were afterwards captured and executed, as were also a number of innocent people believed to be participators in the conspiracy. John himself was more fortunate, for, disguised as a monk, he managed for many years to hide his identity, and after wandering in Tuscany unsuspected, eventually died in a monastery at Pisa. Albrecht's daughter Agnes, Queen of Hungary, "a woman unacquainted with the milder feelings of piety, but addicted to a certain sort of devotional habits and practices by no means inconsistent with implacable vindictiveness," fearfully avenged his murder. This woman appears to have been seized with a perfectly demoniacal mania for blood and revenge. Aided by those in authority, who feared lest a widespread conspiracy had been formed, she seized, on the slightest suspicion, hundreds of innocent victims and put them to death with all the ferocity of a famished beast. Members of nearly a hundred noble families, and at least a thousand persons of lower rank, of every age and of both sexes, fell beneath her savage vengeance. She is said to have further whetted her appetite for horrors by wading, at Fahrwangen, in the blood of sixty-three innocent knights, exclaiming the while, "This day we bathe in May dew." But at last,

after several months, even the implacable bloodthirstiness of the Hungarian Queen was satisfied, and the massacres ceased. Over the spot where Albrecht met his death Agnes built a monastery; she named it Königsfelden and enriched it with the spoils of her victims. Here she took up her abode for the remainder of her life, and for nearly fifty years practised the most rigid asceticism, and here, by the side of her parents, she was eventually buried. Königsfelden stood on the road from Basel to Baden and Zürich, and within sight of the Castle of Habsburg, the cradle of the House of Austria.

Strenuous efforts were made by Albrecht's widow to obtain the succession to the imperial throne for her son, Frederick, Duke of Austria, but the choice of the prince-electors, headed by the Archbishop of Mentz, fell on Count Henry of Luxenburg, a liberal-minded and generous noble, who was accordingly crowned, under the title of Henry VII. During the short reign of this monarch he proved himself a wise and upright ruler of his vast dominions, as well as a generous friend to the Swiss, whose privileges he confirmed. He made no effort to re-impose local Governors on the people of the Waldstätten, but, on the contrary, confirmed the charters of Schwyx and Uri, granted one to Unterwalden, and acknowledged their claim to continue under the direct imperial jurisdiction. After Henry's death, in 1313, civil war once more divided the empire through the rival contentions of Ludwig of Bavaria and Albrecht's son, Frederick of Austria. In this contest the powerful monastery of Einsiedeln sided with the Austrian candidate, and through its influence induced the Bishop of Constanz to place the large portion of Switzerland

Henry VII. A.D. 1308-13.

Civil War.

supporting the Bavarian cause under a sentence of excommunication. Between Einsiedeln and the Waldstätten there had long existed a feeling of bitter hostility, the canons resenting the independent spirit displayed by the peasants, and the latter remembering the many acts of arbitrary oppression they and their ancestors had suffered at the instance of the abbey. Indeed, actual hostilities were only prevented by the friendly, though interested, mediation of the citizens of Zürich, who were most anxious to preserve tranquility in the territories of both, in order to allow their trade with Italy over the St. Gothard being carried on. They also favoured peace, because since the Habsburgs had refused permission to the peasants to enter Luzern, these had been in the habit of bringing their cattle and dairy produce through Einsiedeln to the monks of Zürich. The action of the monks, however, in bringing about the serious sentence of excommunication so roused the spirit of the mountaineers that, headed by their Landammann, Werner Stauffacher, they attacked and captured the abbey, ransacked the whole building from cellar to altar, and carried off the monks captive to the town of Schwyx. This daring and sacriligious act led Frederick—the hereditary *avoyer* of the abbey—to place the Waldstätten under the further punishment of the "ban of the empire." Both these sentences were alike fruitless in bringing the peasants to submission to the House of Austria. Shortly after, on Ludwig ascending the throne, the "ban" was removed by the new monarch, and, with the aid of the Archbishop of Mentz, the Metropolitan of Constanz, the excommunication was also revoked (1315).

A.D. 1314.

Ludwig of Bavaria, A.D. 1314-47.

The triumph of Ludwig's claims over those of Frederick began that long series of deadly conflicts between the Swiss and the House of Austria that led the two nations for so many years to regard each other as natural and implacable enemies. At this time Austria was governed by Duke Leopold, a man of arrogant, passionate temper, of unscrupulous ambition, and brutal cruelty, according to the Swiss chronicles, but who, from other accounts, does not appear specially to have deserved this character. His hatred of the Swiss was greatly increased by their action in opposing his brother, Frederick, in the late contest. No sooner, indeed, were the troubles of that conflict over than he prepared to wreak his vengeance, and once for all crush the power and independence of the Forest States, and, as he declared, "trample the audacious rustics under his feet."

Leopold's Preparations for War, A.D. 1315.

Rapidly collecting his forces, Leopold soon found himself at the head of 15,000 or 20,000 well-armed men, including a large body of heavily equipped cavalry. These latter were then looked upon as the main strength of an army. Most of the ancient nobility of Habsburg, Kyburg and Lenzburg rallied to his banners, besides many of the lesser nobles and a contingent from Zürich, the citizens of which, deserting their natural allies, had formed a treaty with Austria. Against this formidable array the men of Schwyx, Uri and Unterwalden were only able to muster some 1,400 men, who, however, made up for their want of weapons and discipline by the geographical advantages of the country, by their patriotism, unity and determined bravery.

Nothing now seemed to intervene between the Swiss and imminent destruction, when, viewing with a

compassion, most rare in those days, the impending fate of the heroic mountaineers, the powerful Count of Toggenburg tried to negotiate a peace with the Duke. Leopold's terms, however, were so humiliating, and evidently so insincere, that nothing came of these proposals.

On November 3rd, 1315, Leopold's army reached Baden, where a council was held to determine upon the details of the campaign, a campaign having for its object, as the Duke openly declared, "The extirpation of the whole race of the people of Waldstätten." The difficulties of the enterprise now began to show themselves, as several of Leopold's followers, being well acquainted with the nature of the country and the characters of the inhabitants, pointed out that both would offer a determined resistance. Finally, relying upon their numbers and superior arms, it was settled to march on Schwyx, through the Sattel Pass by Morgarten, making Zug the base of operations; and while a false attack should be threatened on the side of Arth, Unterwalden should be attacked from Luzern, as well as by a large force under the Count of Strasburg by way of the Brünig. Leopold himself was to lead the main army and enter Schwyx through the Pass. Had these operations remained secret, or been carried out successfully, the course of Swiss history would probably have been very different from what it was, but fortunately for the cause of Freedom, the Austrian plans became known in time, and failed signally when put to the test. According to ancient chronicles, as the Confederates were hurrying to repel the feint from Arth, a friendly Austrian baron, named Henry of Hünenberg, shot an arrow into their midst bearing the message, "Guard Morgarten on the

Morgarten, A.D. 1315.

eve of St. Othmar." Be this as it may, the Swiss collected their little band on the Sattel, between which mountain and the eastern shore of the Lake of Egeri is situated the ever-memorable Pass of Morgarten. Here on the night of November 14th, they collected a number of loose boulders and tree-trunks, and then, having offered up prayers for the preservation of their country, they awaited with resolution the coming struggle.

With the first dawn of morning the Austrian army (the first that ever entered the country) made its appearance in the Pass, headed by Duke Leopold and his formidable cavalry. Suddenly, when the whole narrow defile was blocked with horse and foot, thousands of heavy stones and trees were hurled into their midst from the neighbouring heights, where the peasant band forming the Swiss force lay concealed. The suddenness and vigour of this unexpected attack quickly threw the first ranks of the invaders into confusion, and caused a panic to seize the horses, many of which in their fright turned and trampled down the men behind. Rapidly the panic increased as the showers of missiles came tearing down, and soon the whole army was in a state of wild terror and confusion—a condition greatly assisted by the slippery nature of the ground. Then, with wild shouts, and brandishing their iron-studded clubs and their formidable halberts and scythes, down the mountain side rushed, with the force and fury of their native avalanche, the heroic Confederates; and falling on their foes literally slew them by thousands. Many hundreds of the Austrians perished in the lake, the men of Zürich alone making a stand, and falling each where he fought. Few succeeded in effecting their escape from what was little less than a general butchery. On that memorable

day all the flower of Austria's nobility lay dead within the country they had hoped so easily to conquer. The Duke, with a handful of followers, alone survived, and even these were forced to undergo many perils before they eventually arrived in safety at Winterthur. Neither were the other attacks, under the Count of Strasburg, and the forces from Luzern, more successful for the invaders. Both armies were repulsed with enormous loss by the men of Unterwalden, who gave no quarter, many of their opponents being their own countrymen from the estates of the Abbey of Interlaken. After these signal victories the Swiss, according to ancient custom, offered up a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for their success and the overthrow of their enemies; and then, having laden themselves with the spoils of the dead, they returned to their humble occupations, whence the defence of their country and their lives had called them away. Amongst the Swiss, Morgarten has always taken the first place in the long record of heroic victories that since 1315 has made the fame of Swiss arms second to none in Europe. This victory at once brought the Waldstätten out of their long obscurity, and placed them in the front rank as powerful and respected states in Switzerland.

Leopold, on his return to Austria, was so satisfied with the ability of the "audacious rustics" to defend themselves, that he made no further attempt to enter their country.

Renewal of Alliance, A.D. 1315.

A month after the victory of Morgarten a general assembly of delegates from the several Waldstätten divisions took place at Brunnen, where, with solemn oaths, a mutual agreement was made to renew and strengthen their former league. A new form of alliance was

now drawn up upon the lines of the League of 1291, embodying the ancient principle of "all for each, and each for all," with the addition of clauses pledging the Confederates not to accept the appointment of fresh over-lords, or to bind themselves by oath to a foreigner, except by mutual consent among themselves; to yield complete obedience to their rightful over-lords, when the latter acted in a just manner, but if otherwise, to be free of all obligation to serve them. In the compact the German word *Eidgenosse* (Confederates) appears for the first time.

In the following year (1316) the new league obtained the sanction of the Emperor, who further declared the political rights possessed in the Waldstätten by the House of Austria (as Counts and *avoyers*) forfeited to the Empire.

Peace with Austria, A.D. 1318.

In 1318 the Austrian Duke formally made peace with his late conquerors, treating them for the first time as honourable equals. In this treaty the rights of Habsburgs as landowners were fully recognised, as it was merely the rejecting of their rule as foreigners that the Swiss insisted on, as being contrary to the principles of freedom. This truce was afterwards further renewed and prolonged till 1328.

Siege of Solothurn, A.D. 1318.

In 1318 Leopold, in the course of the fierce struggle he still maintained with Ludwig, laid siege to the free town of Solothurn, a loyal supporter of the Emperor, then in alliance with Bern, Bienne, Freyburg, and Morat. After six weeks' investment, Solothurn was reduced to such extremities that it was on the point of capitulating, when, according to tradition, a curious event saved it from that fate. In front of the beleaguered city was a large bridge spanning the Aar, and this

suddenly gave way, being at the moment covered with Austrians, a number of the soldiers being precipitated into the river. The besieged, instead of leaving the unfortunate men to their fate (which would have been quite in accordance with the spirit in which war was then carried on), at once threw open their gates, and, by their timely assistance, succeeded in rescuing many. It is said this act of generosity so touched Leopold, that he requested permission peaceably to enter the town, attended only by a few followers, in order to present the citizens with a handsomely emblazoned banner as a mark of his respect for their courage and their virtue, after which he withdrew his army without further molesting Solothurn.

A.D. 1326. The premature death of Leopold in 1326, and the decisive defeat in 1322 and death, ten years later, of his brother Frederick, acted as effectual checks to the ambitious designs of the Habsburgs. They did not, indeed, again wear the Imperial Crown till more than a century later, when the Confederates had greatly increased their power by the addition to their League of fresh states.

Luzern's Revolt. Following in the footsteps of the Waldstätten, the people of Luzern attempted to gain their independence. Their preliminary course was the same as that pursued by their successful neighbours, but the result was very

A.D. 1328. different. In 1328 the anti-Austrian party in the town succeeded in expelling the foreign local rulers without bloodshed, and in electing as *avoyer* one of their own countrymen. The Austrians, having their hands fully occupied at the time, were unable to restore their lost authority, and in 1332 the men of Luzern added to the importance of their revolt by concluding an offensive

and defensive alliance with the Waldstätten, thus forming the fourth state of the Swiss League (Nov. 7). Upon this Austria declared war, but, after several encounters, in which both sides suffered severely, the question in dispute was submitted to arbitration. The arbitrators were taken by mutual consent from amongst the chief men of Basel, Bern and Zürich. The result was both curious and unexpected. Luzern was ordered to renounce her newly-formed alliance, and submit to her Austrian masters (1336). After obeying this sentence for eight years the popular party in the town once more revolted, expelled the Austrians, and renewed their alliance with the Waldstätten (1344). Luzern next set about forming a municipal government for herself, by choosing an *avoyer* and a council of a hundred members. Being the first town to join the Confederation she became the directing state, or *Vorort*, and thus further increased her power and influence, as well as the strength of the Confederation.

Fourth State of the Confederation, A.D. 1332.

CHAPTER IX

GROWTH OF THE CONFEDERATION AND WARS WITH AUSTRIA

The progress made towards independence by the people living in the states bordering the Lake of Luzern sketched in the preceding chapter, that led in so short a time to the formation of the alliance between the first four divisions of the Confederation of to-day, was not without corresponding popular movements in other parts of Switzerland. This was especially apparent in the case of many of the cities that were rapidly increasing in wealth, strength and political autonomy, and which threatened seriously the power and prestige of the nobles who, till then, had overawed or protected them. In those troublous times, when wars were constantly being waged by Pope, Emperor, or Austrian Duke, or by the local nobles, or the Swiss themselves, large numbers of the much-harassed peasants sought and found security within the sheltering walls of the "burgs," and by so doing greatly increased the fighting as well as the commercial strength of their adopted homes. Of these now prosperous and powerful centres, the chief were Freyburg, Solothurn, Constanz, Bern and Zürich, the two latter taking by far the most prominent place, though in their political and social life differing very much the one from the other.

Of all the towns in the western portions of Switzerland, none could at all compete with Bern for the freedom enjoyed by her citizens, in the magnitude of her military resources, in the extent of her possessions, and in the influence she exercised in all matters affecting the nation as a whole. To a great extent she had come to be regarded as the arbiter of the fate of all the other weaker divisions of Switzerland. *Bern.*

In theory, the government of Bern was a democratic republic; in reality, it was an oligarchical one. Self-ruling, and subject only to the authority of the Emperor as she was, yet all power and rule were rigidly confined to a few families. She concluded alliances with other states, ruled large districts by her local administration; she possessed the guardianship over the monasteries of Interlaken and Ruggerberg; she coined her own money, and by her exclusive markets sustained a great and widely extended trade. In 1243 she formed an alliance with Freyburg and with Morat, in 1250 with Luzern, in 1252 with the Bishop of Sion, in 1275 with Bienne and the Hasli districts, and in 1295 with Solothurn. A.D. 1243.

After the death of Rudolph of Habsburg, Bern renewed her alliance with Savoy, that through his influence had been broken off; and then, siding with Adolphus in his struggle with Albrecht, obtained many signal favours from the former monarch. Amongst these she was granted the privilege that henceforth none of her people should be tried by a tribunal other than one composed of Bernese citizens. In 1294, Bern voluntarily revised her constitution, and gave her artisan class both voice and vote in the Government. Members of the Great Council, however, gradually A.D. 1294.

came to be elected from the ranks of the rich and influential families, and thus the town by degrees lost her democratic character, and for many centuries the most aristocratic form of government to be found in Switzerland ruled her affairs. The executive was composed of a Senate, elected by the Great Council from amongst its own numbers, and was presided over by a *Schultheiss* or *Avoyer*. All the citizens were classed into four guilds, each headed by a *bannerherr* or *banneret*, an official who had charge of the guild banner, and who exercised great influence and authority. Gradually, with the increase of centralised power in the hands of the most important families, the elective principle gave way, and most of the town offices came to be filled only by members of certain families, who retained their positions for life, and even made many of them hereditary.

In spite of these dangerous innovations, the Government of Bern, with few exceptions, was carried on with wisdom, economy and strength, through the clear-headed and patriotic devotion of her chief citizens, who seem to have been content to accumulate wealth in the legitimate paths of trade, without using dishonestly their political positions to enrich themselves.

War between Bern and Freyburg, A.D. 1298.

Though in alliance with Freyburg since 1243, the rising power of Bern and her open hatred of Austria caused great distrust and jealousy on the part of the former, who was a staunch supporter of the Duke. These feelings led to constant disputes and misunderstandings for many years, till at last, in 1298, matters became so strained between the two towns that actual hostilities broke out.

In this contest Freyburg was supported by the

Bishop of Lausanne, the Counts of Gruyère and Nidau, and many other powerful nobles, who hoped by crushing Bern to re-assert their own fast-waning influence. The war was short but sharp, and was practically decided in one battle, fought on the Dornbühl, not far from the walls of Bern. The issue for long remained doubtful, till at length the steady discipline and other soldier-like qualities of the Bernese proved superior to those of their antagonists, and the men of Freyburg were in the end completely routed, with immense slaughter and the loss of large numbers of prisoners.

Fresh Alliances.

The struggle over, Bern's ambition grew apace. In order to strengthen her position and guard herself against Austria's encroachments, she first set about forming fresh alliances. After admitting the Count of Neuchâtel to citizenship (1308), she made her treaty with Solothurn perpetual and allied herself with Laupen. She thus found herself with "little to defend and with many defenders, with little territory to lose and with much territory to gain."

A.D. 1308.

Alliance with the Waldstätten,

In 1323 the fear of war with Austria induced Bern to form a formal alliance with the Forest Cantons, and to purchase the over-lordship of Thun from the Count of Eberard. This town, however, the Count managed to recover a few years later, when the Emperor Ludwig, by making peace with Austria, left Bern to defend herself against the Duke, who was then threatening her.

A.D. 1323.

After another short and serious struggle with Freyburg, which resulted in the latter's defeat and the loss of her subject-town of Gumminen (1332), Bern declared war against the Counts of Gruyère and La Tour, and took and destroyed Wimmis. She then

A.D. 1332.

entered on the conquest of the Oberland, which, though long defended in the most heroic manner, she eventually
A.D. 1335. succeeded in subduing (1335).

Meanwhile Bern's constantly increasing power was viewed with growing apprehension by the many nobles in her vicinity. Freyburg also, untaught by her two severe defeats and her territorial losses, was actively engaged in preparing once more to try conclusions with her successful rival. To these causes of impending troubles was now further added Bern's unwillingness, from religious scruples, to continue loyal to the Emperor, whom
A.D. 1338. the Pope had excommunicated (1338). On Rome launching the much-dreaded sentence against the Emperor, with the division that rent the German Empire in consequence, Bern was called upon definitely to declare on which side she would take her stand. Disregarding her long connection with the Emperor and the many favours she had received, she threw in her lot with Rome, and consequently had to prepare for Ludwig's hostility. But her greatest danger lay in the combination of the Swiss nobles, most of whom hoped to benefit by her humiliation. After many and long negotiations between these nobles a league was at last formed, consisting of the Counts of Kyburg, Gruyère, Nidau, Aarberg and Neuchâtel, as well as the town of Freyburg, then subject to Austria. These met in a general council at Nidau, at which also representatives of the Emperor were present, and plans were there agreed upon for the total destruction of the haughty and ambitious city. Nothing now was wanting but an excuse to commence hostilities, for which Bern believed herself fully prepared. The desired excuse was found in 1339, when the Republic refused to acknowledge the authority

League against Bern.

of the Emperor on his ordering a large money grant to Count von Aarberg-Valengrin to be levied on Bern. War was then formally declared by the Emperor, with the concurrence of Austria and the members of the League. In this apparently hopeless struggle Bern's only supporters were the men of the Hasli and Waldstätten districts, who patriotically at once offered their aid, the citizens of Solothurn, and the powerful Baron of Weissenburg. But Bern, in her hour of greatest need, showed to even more advantage than when at the height of her prosperity. She first placed a garrison of 600 men, consisting of one member out of every family in the city, in her subject-town of Laupen. This important place formed an outpost of great strategical value, situated as it was on the road to Freyburg, and it was here that the first attack was expected. The holding of this position was necessary moreover to enable Bern to muster her forces. Scarcely had the garrison taken possession of Laupen than the enemy made their appearance before it, after having devastated all the surrounding territories.

War with Austria, A.D. 1339.

The army of the allies consisted of some 15,000 foot and 1,000 horse, the latter including 700 knights, members of noble families. These troops were drawn from the followers of the Counts of Kyburg, Nidau and Gruyère, the Bishops of Lausanne and Basel, and from most of the nobles of Northern and Western Switzerland. Bern herself was meanwhile actively gathering her troops under the command of Rudolph von Erlach, and strengthening her fortifications. Erlach soon collected his little army, which, including 900 men from the Waldstätten and 600 from the Hasli districts, with smaller contingents from Solothurn and from the Baron

Siege of Laupen, June, 1339.

of Weissenburg, only numbered 7,000 fighting soldiers. With the Bernese army marched a priest carrying the host and proclaiming the religious nature of the war.

Battle of Laupen.

On June 21st, Erlach's force appeared on the heights above Laupen, where he was at once attacked by the leaguers. Before the battle commenced, the men from the Forest Cantons, at their urgent demand, were assigned the duty of meeting the enemy's cavalry and the Freyburgers, whom they were burning to punish for making war against their fellow-countrymen. "These (the Waldstätten volunteers) rolled down before them a line of cars armed with scythes, so constructed that they could not be wheeled backwards; and when they came within reach of the enemy's lines they threw from their slings, in the use of which they were very expert, a shower of stones, which created confusion among the horses. The Swiss then feigned to retire towards the hill in their rear, and the princes pushed forward their cavalry, but the cars opposing their passage broke their ranks, and the Swiss, rushing forward, fought man to man against them. Meantime, Erlach, with the main body of his troops, charged the infantry, which, unable to withstand the shock, fell back in disorder, leaving the Bernese free to turn to the assistance of their allies, who were hard pressed by the enemy's cavalry. The latter, however, perceiving the retreat of their infantry, wheeled round, without waiting for a fresh encounter, for the slaughter among them had been already very great. The combat lasted only an hour and a half"—(Vieusseux). In this battle the leaguers lost some two thousand of their followers, including the Schultheiss of Freyburg, the Counts of Nidau, Aarberg-Valengrin, and Louis of Vaud, besides twelve other nobles and eighty knights.

The soldiers of Freyburg were killed almost to a man. A large quantity of valuable arms was captured, and these, together with twenty-seven banners, were taken in triumph back to Bern. This brilliant victory, which in great measure was due to the tactical skill and courage of Erlach[1] brought the war to a close and, moreover, prevented any further attempts of either Freyburg or the nobles again opening hostilities. It did not, however, prevent both from secretly plotting against Bern and attempting to isolate her completely by detaching her allies from her interests.

War with Solothurn.

So successful were these tactics that in 1360 Solothurn was induced to renounce her alliance. Upon this Bern marched against her, and captured the town of Hautwyl, surprised and massacred a band of 400 soldiers, and destroyed several villages. After six months' desultory strife, in which a large portion of the surrounding country was devastated and great numbers of the peasants slain, peace was formally made through the mediation of Agnes, daughter of the murdered Albrecht (1340), who appears to have had

Peace, A.D. 1340.

1 Rudolph von Erlach, son of Ulrich, who had in 1298 commanded with such conspicuous ability his countrymen, retired after the Laupen campaign to his home, without asking any reward for his distinguished services. Here he lived in peace till an old age, and was looked upon as the greatest general and statesman Bern had produced during the 14th century. His death was as sad and tragic as his life had been noble and unselfish. One day his would-be son-in-law, Jobst Rudenz, of Unterwalden, visited the old man in order to get him to bestow a larger dowry upon his daughter than Erlach had intended. High words followed, and in the midst of the quarrel Rudenz, losing all command of his temper, snatched the sword the old warrior used at Laupen from its place on the wall, and plunged it into Erlach's heart. Then, seized with terror for his foul crime, the murderer rushed from the house, and, although pursued by the watchdogs, was never seen more (1360).

the greatest horror of all bloodshed which was caused by other hands than her own. Shortly afterwards most of the allied nobles made separate treaties of peace with Bern, as did also Freyburg and Solothurn (1342). Austria also, being once more at war with the Emperor Ludwig, found it politic to conclude a treaty with the now formidable and successful city. Indeed, Bern's wonderful success both in arms and material progress gave rise to the saying that "God had become a citizen of Bern." It was not long before a similar proverb appeared of another Swiss town, in the saying that "God gave the man he loved a house in Zürich."

A.D. 1342.

While Bern was thus steadily and rapidly advancing to the head of the powers of Switzerland, the important free-city of Zürich was undergoing political changes that did much to retard her progress, and eventually brought her to the verge of ruin.

Zürich.

Zürich takes rank with the oldest cities of Switzerland, dating its origin, as in all probability it does, to the remote period immediately succeeding the lake-dwellings, the remains of which are plentifully scattered in the neighbourhood of its present site. During the Roman occupation it figures, under the name of Turicun, as a small customs outpost, regulating the trade between Gaul and Rhætia. Like many other settlements, it was swept away, or, at any rate, disappeared from history, during the inrush of the Allemanni, to rise again into note in the 9th century, since when it steadily progressed in size and importance, occupying both banks of the Limmat. At first divided into four separate and differently governed divisions, these gradually merged into a single bailiwick, under

the administration of an imperial baillie, thus possessing the privilege of dependence on the Emperor (*Reichsfreiheit*). The office of baillie, from being hereditary in the families of Lenzburg and Zöringen, was made elective by the citizens from the aristocratic classes by Frederick II., a concession towards entire self-government that was further increased during the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor, by the citizens taking into their own hands the appointment of their *Schultheiss*, an official who regulated the customs and coinage and exercised judicial and other important municipal functions, and who, up till then, had been chosen by the abbess of the local Fraumünster (1304).

Zürich, A.D. 1336.

For many years before the revision of the constitution, that gave the city practical freedom to manage its own affairs, the political and social life of Zürich tended gradually more and more to become aristocratic. The chief power eventually became centralised in the hands of a council, composed of four nobles and eight wealthy burghers, who, at the expiration of four months, chose their successors. These few families then grew more autocratic, and refused either to render accounts of the expenditure of the public funds, or to admit their responsibility in government to any save members of their own immediate class—the mass of the people, the artisan class, being ineligible for office and possessing no vote. Great discontent naturally arose; but no concerted action to assert the public rights of the burghers was taken for many years, till at last Rudolph Brun, a man of indomitable will, conspicuous honesty, and himself one of the wealthy and powerful city rulers, put himself at the head of the

Rudolph Brun.

popular party. Negotiations were first carried on in a spirit of peace to persuade the Government to furnish detailed and public accounts of their actions and expenditure; but these means proving inoperative, Brun at last roused the citizens to open revolt. The city-hall was surrounded by a threatening mob, who took possession of the building, and forced the obnoxious members of the Council to submit. All those who showed any disposition to thwart the popular party were then expelled, and only succeeded in saving their lives by hasty flight. A new Government was formed upon democratic principles, and Brun invested with the chief power (July, 1336). He was next appointed burgomaster for life, and voted still further authority. All the trades and artisans were grouped into thirteen guilds, according to the nature of the work done; the nobles and the gentry into classes. A governing council was chosen, half of which was composed of the chiefs of the trade guilds, and the other of members of noble families, and each section was to be renewed half-yearly. The republic, as a whole, continued to own allegiance to the Emperor.

Having thus completely changed her form of government, Zürich began her new life. But like many later plans of the theoretically perfect government, that of Zürich was found in practice to be little, if at all, better than the old discredited one. Each trade-guild representative on the Council devoted himself chiefly to further the interests of his particular class; rigid protective measures to prevent foreign competition were introduced; the nobles indulged their jealousy of one another to the injury of the town; the bürgermeister was in the position of an irresponsible director; selfish-

ness ousted patriotism. The chief bond of union, however, that kept the new Government from breaking up shortly after its formation, was the fear lest the citizens exiled during the late trouble should succeed in returning to their old positions by means of foreign aid. Most of these exiles found a ready friend in the powerful Count of Rapperschwyl, whose possessions made him a formidable foe to Zürich. Several encounters took place between this nobleman and the men of Zürich, the latter being usually supported by the Count of Toggenburg, a hereditary opponent of the former. At last, after many years had passed and the bygone troubles were partially forgotten, if not forgiven, several of the exiles obtained permission to return to their native city. Here they formed a formidable conspiracy to re-obtain their forfeited positions and to do away with Brun, whose influence and personal power were now greater than ever. This conspiracy was only discovered on the day fixed for its execution. Brun hastily armed his followers, and then, meeting the main body of his enemies in the market-place, promptly attacked them. Both sides fought obstinately, but the Government eventually succeeded in capturing or slaughtering the whole of its opponents. Of the prisoners taken, all were either broken on the wheel or at once beheaded (1350). After this abortive effort to displace him, Brun marched in force against Rapperschwyl, took the castle by storm, burnt the town to the ground, and slew the Count, together with many of his followers. This energetic action at once roused the determined enmity of the Austrian Duke, many of whose possessions bordered on the territories of Zürich, and whose relative the Count of Rapperschwyl was. Fearing lest her

Conspiracy in Zürich.

A.D. 1350.

Zürich forms Fifth State of Confederation, A.D. 1351.

position, if not her very existence, should now be lost, Zürich applied for and obtained permission to enter the Swiss League (1351), thus forming the fifth state. In consideration of her wealth and power, she was not only received as an ally by the Confederates, but honoured by being named the chief state or *Vorort*.

Zug and Glarus enter Confederation, A.D. 1352.

In the following year the League was still further strengthened by the admission of Zug and Glarus. These districts were, to a large extent, the property of the monastery of Sächingen, and had the Habsburgs for *avoyers*, who also claimed many other rights over the country. These the people refused to acknowledge, and in their refusal received such powerful aid from the Confederation, that the Habsburgs were obliged to retire from the contest.

War with Austria, A.D. 1352.

The action of Zürich, in throwing in her lot with the Confederates, greatly added to the anger Austria felt at her destruction of Rapperschwyl. So great, indeed, was the wrath of the Duke that he threatened war unless Zürich at once deserted her new allies and also rebuilt the destroyed town, which conditions being promptly refused, an army of 16,000 was sent to enforce them. In the war Zürich received very material support from her Swiss allies. Besides other important services, the men of Schwyx occupied Glarus, and thus prevented the Austrians from interfering with the Confederates sending supplies to Zürich. In most of the encounters that took place—there was no large battle—the Austrians were repulsed with great loss, and were eventually forced to retire. In the same year (1352), however, a greatly augmented Austrian army marched against Zürich and laid siege to the city. After holding their position with the utmost bravery for several months

in which they were greatly assisted by the presence of 2,000 Confederates, the burghers, on the mediation of the Margrave of Brandenburg, consented to make peace. One of the conditions of the treaty was that Zug and Glarus should return to the protection of Austria.

Bern forms the Eighth State of Confederation. A.D. 1353.

In 1353 Bern, owing greatly to the aid she had before received from the Waldstätten, formally entered the Swiss Confederation, forming the eighth member of that league, which received no fresh additions for more than a century. The position of Bern considerably added to the strength and stability of the Confederation. Through her it began, for the first time, to come in contact with the French-speaking inhabitants of Savoy, and extend its influence towards the West. She further brought about what, till then, the allies had never had: a settled system of policy among the Swiss, which, while keeping carefully guarded the independence of each individual state, yet devised means of acting in consort against a common foe, and adopted means for the settlement of many cases where divergent interests might endanger the unity of the Confederation. Though each of the five new members of the Confederation was united to the original league (Uri, Schwyx and Unterwalden), none were directly in alliance with the other, an anomaly that gave rise later to much serious trouble. Luzern was allied with Zug and Zürich; Glarus, with Zürich; Zug, with Luzern and Zürich; Zürich, with Zug, Luzern and Glarus; whilst Bern was allied only with the Waldstätten. Zug remained under Austrian rule till 1364, when the men of Schwyx surprised and drove the foreigners from the state. Glarus was similarly freed in 1388.

The truce concluded between Austria and Zürich

was of short duration, and after that treaty Austria steadily pursued a policy calculated to break up the Swiss Confederation. Failing in this, she next appealed to the German Emperor, who declared the alliance contrary to the laws of the Empire, and further ordered Zürich to withdraw from it. This the citizens refused to do, when Austria declared war. Once more the Duke despatched a formidable force to besiege and capture the town. This army was shortly after joined by the Emperor's troops, as well as by contingents from Solothurn and Schaffhausen, making in all a force of 50,000 men, that closely invested Zürich. The siege proved, however, of no long duration, as shortly after its commencement the Zürichois declared their continued loyalty to the Emperor, and as rivalries between the invaders had already showed themselves, the withdrawal of the imperial troops was ordered. Finding himself thus left to fight unaided the Austrian Duke also withdrew his forces, and after maintaining a desultory warfare for some months, signed, at Ratisbonne (1355), a treaty of peace.

Siege of Zürich A.D. 1354.

In the times of which we now treat, when an actual war broke out it was pretty certain to be but the forerunner of a speedy armistice, which in its turn was usually followed at no distant date by a renewal of hostilities. The wanton destruction of life and property, the brief breathing interval, and the renewed war went on in one weary monotonous circle. Thus, not long after the Treaty of Ratisbonne, hostilities recommenced, this time between Austria and the Waldstätten. The war lasted many months, with varying fortunes, till in 1368, at the intervention of Bern and Zürich, peace was restored; and then followed the very unusual spectacle

War between Austria and the Waldstätten, A.D. 1368.

in Swiss and Austrian histories of an interval from legalised bloodshed of nearly twenty years.

In this pause much progress was made in the useful and intellectual arts, especially in the cities, in most of which, moreover, many changes of a democratic character were inaugurated.

But though no great war was in progress between 1368-86, many minor struggles and popular disturbances took place in various parts of Switzerland. In the winter of 1367 the town of Bienne, then under the wardenship of the See of Basel, refused to obey the Bishop when ordered to renounce the co-burghership she had formed with the cities of Bern, Freyburg and Solothurn. She not only refused, but made her alliance with Bern perpetual. These acts of insubordination led the Bishop to threaten war, and the people of Bienne to appeal to the Confederates for aid. Before the latter could arrive the Bishop gave orders to pillage and burn Bienne, which work was actually partially done under the Count of Nidau. On the arrival of the troops of Bern a dire vengeance was taken on the Bishop for his inhuman conduct, the episcopal palace was attacked and destroyed, and every portion of the Bishop's property devastated. The war was continued in 1368, and at last terminated by the total defeat of the Bishop's forces at the Pass of Pierre Pertuis, by the combined troops of Bern and Solothurn.

War between the Bishop of Basel and Bern, A.D. 1367.

Amongst the very few good deeds Swiss chronicles ever admit were done by an Austrian sovereign, is the conduct of Albrecht II. in 1356. In that year the Duke was preparing to attack Basel, when, just as he was ready to besiege the town, a large portion was destroyed by an earthquake. In consequence of this visitation

Albrecht II. and Basel, A.D. 1356.

Albrecht not only refused to continue the war, but sent 400 expert workmen to assist in rebuilding the town, with the message, "God cannot wish me to kill those whom God has wounded."

Invasion of De Coucy, A.D. 1375.

In 1375, all Switzerland and Austria were thrown into the greatest alarm by the sudden invasion, by way of Basel, of a horde of irregular soldiers under the command of Enguerrand de Coucy. De Coucy was son-in-law of Edward III. of England, and through his mother, a daughter of Leopold I., claimed several towns and castles in Aargau as his right. These possessions the Austrian Duke refused to give up, and De Coucy accordingly, after raising some 50,000 followers in France, swept down on Switzerland, like the barbarians of old, to enforce his claims by the sword. After ravaging Elsass and carrying fire and wholesale slaughter along the Zimmat, he arrived at Wellingen. At first the suddenness and fury of the invasion caused a panic to seize the country, and little was done to offer any resistance. Numbers of Swiss fell before the advancing horde, when at last in various centres, especially in Bern and the Entlibuch mountains, the old spirit of bravery again showed itself. The first repulse was effected by a band of some 600 Entlibuch mountaineers, who fell on a detached party of the invaders, some 3,000 strong, near Willisau, and after a long fight killed nearly every one. The principal part of De Coucy's army had meanwhile arrived at Fraubrunnen where it halted, before attacking Bern. Bern, however, was now fully alive to her danger, and boldly sallied forth to meet her savage foe. After a rapid march, the Bernese troops managed to surprise the invaders in their camp during the night of December 26th, and after immense slaughter, com-

pletely routed them. Other large bands were, however, scattered in different parts of the country, and wherever they appeared they spared neither age, sex, nor property, but slaughtered and destroyed all before them. Many serious encounters took place with the now thoroughly aroused Swiss, till at last the whole of the once formidable host was either killed or chased out of the country, and peace was restored. This war is known in Swiss chronicles as the *Guglerkrieg*, from the pointed spikes on the helmets of the soldiers, or as is also said, from the cowls many of them wore. It is also referred to as the "English war," though there seems to be no evidence that many of De Coucy's soldiers were Englishmen. They were largely reinforced by some of the Welsh who were at the time driven out of their country by the English King, as well as by mercenaries of other nationalities employed in the late war between England and France. Among the leaders of this expedition, Ievan Ap Griffith and Ievan Llewellyn figure as important chiefs. De Coucy himself was captured by the Turks at the battle of Nicopolis, and died in prison at Constantinople. According to other authorities, De Coucy, as well as several of the more prominent Welsh leaders, was assassinated in France by secret orders of the King of England.

Austria's conduct soon began once more to disturb the Swiss, and to threaten a renewal of hostilities. Her first act of importance was the conquest of the Tyrol, after which, under pretence of benefiting the pilgrims to Einsiedeln, but in reality to separate Glarus from Zürich, she built a bridge across the lake at Rapperschwyl. The possession of this bridge by Austria acted as a perpetual hindrance to Zürich's trade with

the South, and was accordingly greatly resented by the city. Austria's position as ruler in so many burghs, that from their situation and the nationality of their inhabitants were essentially Swiss, also acted as a never-ending source of trouble. Her rule was both harsh and unjust, and, as a result, her local governors were extremely unpopular. In 1386 the anti-Austrian feeling in Switzerland had grown to such a pitch, that popular outbreaks against her authority were, in many centres, of frequent occurrence, and war appeared inevitable.

War with Austria, A D. 1386.

From Luzern came the final troubles that precipitated the country again into a conflict with Austria. Previous to the actual declaration of war, constant collisions in the neighbourhood of Luzern had for some time past taken place, with all the horrors and savagery of war. In 1385 a body of men from Luzern attacked and demolished the castle-town of Rothenburg, the residence of an Austrian baillie. Next, both Entlibuch and Sempach, at the instigation of Luzern, revolted against their Austrian rulers, expelled the baillies, and entered into alliances with the city. Luzern herself commenced extending her territories by the purchase of Wiggis, and (contrary to her treaty stipulations) admitted a number of Austrian subjects into the privileges of citizenship. Austria retaliated by attacking Richensee, a small Luzern town containing a garrison of some 200 soldiers. This she carried by assault and destroyed, massacring the inhabitants, of all ages, and of both sexes. Other reprisals on both sides followed in quick succession, in which immense numbers of victims perished. Soon both the Duke and the Confederates were fully prepared, and the former took the

field with a large army. After menacing Zürich, Leopold II., accompanied by many nobles from Germany, France, and North Italy, headed some 6,000 picked men, and marched upon Luzern. On his way he burnt Willisau and several smaller towns, where his troops committed every form of excess. On the 9th of July, a portion of his forces appeared before the walls of Sempach, whilst another division menaced Zürich. At Sempach the Confederates mustered to the help of Luzern, but were only able to bring about 1,600 men, taken chiefly from the Forest States. In spite of their disparity in numbers, the Confederates determined to risk an encounter. The decisive and brilliant battle of Sempach, the second of the long roll of victories that mark the prowess of the Swiss, is thus described by an old writer:—"The Swiss order of battle was angular, one soldier followed by two, these by four and so on. The Swiss were all on foot, badly armed, having only their long swords and their halberds, and boards on their left arms with which to parry the blows of their adversaries, and they could at first make no impression on the close ranks of the Austrians, all bristling with spears. But Anthony Zer Pot, of Uri, cried to his men to strike with their halberds on the shafts of the spears, which he knew were made hollow to render them lighter, and, at the same time, Arnold Winkelried,[1] a knight from

Battle of Sempach, July 9, 1386.

1 With the exception of the feat of William Tell, no incident connected with their history is more widely known and believed by the Swiss than that of Winkelried at the battle of Sempach, and, unlike the former, it certainly appears to be true. For a masterly *resumé* of the historical evidence bearing on this heroic act, see Coolidge's article, "Winkelried," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

Unterwalden, devoting himself for his country, cried out, 'I'll open a way for you, Confederates,' and, seizing as many spears as he could grasp in his arms, dragged them down with his whole weight and strength upon his own bosom, and thus made an opening for his countrymen to penetrate the Austrian ranks. This act of heroism decided the victory. The Swiss rushed into the gap made by Winkelried, and having now come to close quarters with their enemies, their bodily strength and the lightness of their equipment gave them a great advantage over the heavily-armed Austrians, who were already fainting under the heat of a July sun. The very closeness of the array of the Austrian men-at-arms rendered them incapable either of advancing or falling back, and the grooms who held their horses having taken flight, panic seized them, they broke their ranks, and were hewed down by the Swiss halberds in frightful numbers. Duke Leopold was urged by those around him to save his life, but he scorned the advice, and, seeing the banner of Austria in danger, rushed to save it, and was killed in the attempt. The rout then became general, but the Swiss had the humanity, or the policy, not to pursue their enemies, of which otherwise not one, perhaps, would have escaped. The loss of the Austrians amounted to 2,000 men, including 676 noblemen, 350 of whom wore coroneted helmets. Most of them were buried at Königsfelden, with their leader Leopold. The Swiss lost 200 men in this memorable battle, the second in which they had defeated a Duke of Austria at the head of his chivalry."

Glarus.

After Sempach the men of Glarus set about making themselves a free people. One of their first acts was the capture of Wesen and the expulsion of its Austrian

soldiers. This was followed by a truce, which lasted till 1388, when Leopold's sons recommenced the war with fresh fury. Wesen was recaptured by the admission of a number of soldiers in disguise, who opened the gates to their comrades without and massacred all the chief Swiss leaders. Some months later the men of Glarus inflicted a severe defeat on the Austrians at the little town of Näfels, within their state. In this important combat, 350 men of Glarus, together with 50 from Schwyx, posted themselves on the heights above the town, and as the Austrians advanced, suddenly hurled down masses of stones that soon caused a panic. Then, following the successful tactics employed at Morgarten; the Swiss rushed down on the disordered mass (said to consist of 15,000 soldiers, but probably about half that number) and dealt death on every side. A precipitate flight of the invaders followed, but they were met near Wesen by a fresh body of 700 Glarus peasants, who completed the victory. Though Bern took no part in the battle of Sempach, after that victory she entered actively into the war, and overran the Austrian dependencies in Freyburg and Valengrin. She drove the Duke's followers out of Rapperschwyl, annexed Nidau and Büren, and conquered the upper Simmenthal.

Battle of Näfels, A.D. 1388.

At length, both sides being weary of war and carnage, a peace was signed for seven years in 1389, with the condition that Bern should restore Nidau and Büren. This peace was in 1394 further prolonged for twenty years. These treaties brought great benefits to Switzerland in many ways. Glarus and Zug obtained their formal freedom from Austrian rule in payment of a moderate sum of money; Schwyx received the town

Peace, A.D. 1389.

and Abbey of Einsiedeln (1397); Luzern purchased Sempach and Entlibuch from the Duke, as also other towns; but chief of all, the *political* power of the Habsburgs came to an end in Switzerland.

Fall of the House of Kyburg, A.D. 1382.

Among the features of interest during the 14th century was the downfall and final disappearance of the once powerful House of Kyburg. In 1382 the then head of the family, Count Rudolph, a young and ambitious noble, made a bold effort to recruit the fallen fortunes of his house by forming a conspiracy to seize the imperial town of Solothurn, as well as Thun and Aarburg, the two latter being then subject to Bern. Taking into his confidence a Neuchâtel noble, he managed to muster 200 well-armed followers. With these the conspirators appeared before Solothurn on the night of November 10th, where arrangements had previously been made with a few accomplices to gain admittance. Everything passed off satisfactorily till a little before the appointed time for effecting an entry, when a passing peasant happened by accident to discover the plot. He at once alarmed the burghers, who promptly fell upon the conspirators, and compelled them to seek safety in flight. On the news of this attempt becoming known, Bern and Solothurn at once laid siege to Rudolph's chief town, Berthoud, which, though also attacked by the Waldstätten and Zürich, held out for nearly two years, when it yielded to arbitration, and passed by purchase into the possession of Bern. After Rudolph's death, his successors were compelled to cede almost all their remaining estates to the Confederates and accept citizenship in Bern (1384). From this period the Kyburgs disappear as influential factors in Swiss history.

Another important feature during this period was the lessened influence of the Emperor of Germany in Swiss affairs, and the gradual withdrawal of the Swiss from the position they so long occupied as subject-vassals of the Empire. This was especially seen towards the close of the century, when the Emperor, being pressed for money, sold his rights over several important Swiss districts to their inhabitants, and thus forfeited all authority over them.

In 1393, a meeting was held at Sempach of representatives of the different Confederate States to agree, if possible, upon some means of mitigating the horrors of war. The result of this congress was the drawing up of the celebrated *Sempacher Brief*, a measure that though frequently disregarded, undoubtedly did much to alleviate human sorrow and draw the several members of the Swiss League nearer together. It also showed that the Swiss had already made a great advance in humanity, and were at last emerging out of their early barbarism. By the terms of the agreement it was enacted that each of the eight states engaged not to undertake any war unless it were approved by all the rest; that all the states should contribute to the Confederate army against a common foe; that all spoils should be divided according to the assistance each state had given; that every Swiss would sacrifice his life and his property, if required, for the defence of his country; that churches should be considered inviolate, unless the enemy retired into them; that women and children should be held safe from all injury during war-time; and that no Swiss should abandon his post, even when wounded.

"*Sempacher Brief*," A.D. 1393.

But chief of all the memorable events of this

century was the close it brought to the long and bloody struggle between Austria and Switzerland. At length the heroism and persevering patriotism of the Swiss effected the liberation of their country from Austrian rule, and henceforth the Dukes ceased to attempt to enforce their claims, and tacitly acknowledged their defeat. The Swiss States from this period, moreover, began to be known, not as an unimportant portion of the German Empire, but as a separate country, Die Schweiz (from the prominent part taken by Schwyx in initiating the freedom of the land), whilst amongst themselves the Swiss referred to their Confederation as *Die Eidgenossenschaft*.

Despite its long record of bloodstains, the 14th century marks a very memorable epoch in Swiss history. The power of the nobles was effectually broken, the rule of the Kyburgs and Austrians brought to a close, and the influence of the Emperor much lessened. National unity and independence assumed for the first time tangible shapes, and the love of God, country, and freedom inspired the people to many acts of heroism. Humanity towards the suffering began to be looked upon as a virtue and not as a weakness. For the first time general Diets of representatives of the several allied states met at some central and important place, *Vorort*, generally at Zürich, Luzern or Bern, where matters of national interest were discussed, and disputes, if possible, arranged.

On the other hand, the mass of the people were steeped in ignorance and brutalised by the ever-recurring wars and disputes. The general insanitary condition of the towns gave rise to repeated epidemics of the plague and other fearful scourges, frequent fires laid

waste large districts, causing the deaths of thousands, and stopping the progress of civilisation, trade and general prosperity. The spasmodic but oft-repeated outbreaks of religious fanaticism, leading to persecution for heresy and terrible punishments, as well as the attacks of "Jew-baiting" that periodically seized the people, added to their load of misery, and caused the sacrifice of many innocent lives.

CHAPTER IX

CIVIL WARS AND POLITICAL CHANGES OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE EIGHT STATES

A.D. 1404-68. One of the most important results of the victory of Sempach was seen, shortly after that event, in the great and widespread spirit of liberty that roused the people of Switzerland to obtain their complete independence. Neither was this feeling harboured only against the Austrians and Germans. In numerous centres the Swiss "ruled" rose in revolt against the Swiss "rulers," and many and terrible were the struggles in consequence.

Revolts, A.D. 1404. In 1404, at Winterthur, an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Austrian government of the town was attended with much bloodshed and cruelty on both

A.D. 1407. sides. In 1407 the people of Ottingen revolted, and after killing their over-lord, placed themselves under the protection of the burghers of Bern, as did also the peasants of Chateau d'Aex, and this in spite of the active intervention of Savoy. Many other revolts in various centres occurred, and kept up the hatred of the poorer classes against their masters, who were usually also their oppressors.

Civil Troubles in Zug, A.D. 1404. Of the many civil troubles that disturbed Switzerland at the beginning of the 15th century, one of the most serious took place in Zug, in 1404. When this state entered the Swiss Confederation, in 1353, it consisted of the town of Zug and the three Communes of

Egeri, Baar and Menzingen. Between the town and the communes a good deal of bad feeling had grown up, consequent on the former having usurped all the chief functions of the cantonal government, including the privilege of guarding the banner, seal, and state archives. In 1404 matters reached such a point that, after meeting in Landsgemeinde, the rural populations determined no longer to submit to the authority claimed by the town, as by the act of admission into the Confederation all the inhabitants of the state were entitled to equal rights. On their part, the burghers consented to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the Confederates, but this the peasants refused, and appealed to Schwyx to assist them. Since 1364 Schwyx had exercised a kind of unauthorised protection over Zug, and she now readily gave the required assistance. Though many of the chief men of Schwyx strongly favoured the claims of the Zug burghers, the vast proportion of her people would listen to no other method of settling the difficulty than an instant appeal to arms. This feeling indeed seemed to attack the mountaineers with a sort of madness, as, disregarding all advice towards moderation from their magistrates, a number quickly armed, marched into the neighbouring state, forcibly took possession of the town, and compelled the burghers to promise they would submit the claims of the communes to the arbitration of Schwyx. News of this high-handed conduct reaching the Confederates, a Diet was instantly convoked, and a force of 13,000 men from Luzern, Uri, Zürich and Unterwalden, marched into the disturbed districts. Zug's unwelcome visitors were promptly compelled to quit the town, and then a congress of deputies from various states assembled at Beggenried

to restore peace. Schwyx was ordered to pay a heavy indemnity to Zug and another to the Confederation, and the original matters in dispute were decided in favour of the burghers. Several important concessions were at the same time given to the communes, including the right of electing the "banneret" (the second state official), and all were ordered to obey the Landammann and Council of Zug, and never to appeal in future to Schwyx alone in any disputes that might arise. This decision brought to a close the first serious quarrel that divided members of the Swiss Confederation; unfortunately for the peace and prosperity of Switzerland, the many quarrels that arose afterwards, many upon equally slight causes as those that occurred in Zug, were not so satisfactorily terminated.[1]

Appenzell Risings, A.D. 1400.

Of the many troubles that harassed Switzerland during this period by far the most important, from its duration, by the amount of bloodshed it involved, and its ultimate results, was the rising of the communes of Appenzell and the town of St. Gallen against the authority of the powerful Abbey of St. Gallen. Before the commencement of the 15th century many privileges and much increased liberty were granted the subjects of the Abbey, but with the accession of Abbot Kunon von Stoffeln as ruler (1401) a new reign tending to curtail these liberal gifts had commenced. Severity

1 Concerning the violent action of the peasant warriors of Schwyx in their attempt to coerce Zug forcibly, Johann Müller, writing in the middle of the last century, in his account of the matter exclaims, "Violence never makes right." This sentiment thus anticipated the oft quoted "Force is no remedy" of a modern English politician, out of which so much capital has recently been made. The obvious fallacy of the dictum is proved by the histories of all countries, and most established great movements.

and cruel exactions were now begun, fresh and heavy taxes were imposed, and petty annoyances from the Abbot's agents soon worked the people up to desperation.

In 1377 the peasants of Appenzell and the citizens of St. Gallen joined the League recently formed of the Swabian towns[1] around the Lake of Constanz against the power of the nobles, called the *Städtebund um den See* (hence the modern German name for the Lake of "Boden See"). In or about the year 1400 the Swabian League repudiated the Appenzell peasants, believing they legally owed allegiance to the Abbey, but allowed the citizens of St. Gallen to remain. Thus the communes found themselves alone when the time came in which assistance was most needed. This assistance they found at first in the burghers of St. Gallen, who, equally with them, were determined to seek freedom from the rule of the now obnoxious Abbey. In 1401 the town and the communes entered into negotiations that resulted in an alliance for mutual protection. In the following year the endeavour of the Abbot to assert his authority forcibly led to a general rising, which was greatly encouraged and aided by a contingent of the bellicose men of Schwyx. On this the Abbot appealed to the Städtebund for help. The League decided that the alliance between St. Gallen and the peasants must be dissolved, and that the Abbot must in future appoint their baillies from the ranks of the people of Appenzell, and be careful in so doing that they did not exceed their duty. This action once more isolated the

A.D. 1377.

A.D. 1400

A.D. 1401.

A.D. 1402

1 These towns were Constanz, Ueberlingen, Bouchhorn (Friederichshafen), Lindau, Ravenburg, Wangen and St. Gallen.

communes, as the burghers of St. Gallen annulled their alliance with them. Undismayed, the peasants, supported by a few hundred volunteers from Schwyx and Glarus (who alone answered their call for aid addressed to the whole of the Swiss Confederates), prepared to encounter the full strength of the Abbot's forces. The latter was further assisted by 5,000 fully-armed foot soldiers, and a large body of mounted troops sent to his assistance by the Swabian League. Now fully determined at all risks to obtain their freedom, the peasants of Appenzell assembled in their several *rhodes* (*rotte*, a band, commune, or hundred) and swore to support one another to the death in the coming struggle.

Battle of Speicher, May 15, 1403.

The first important encounter took place on May 15th, 1403, in the Speicher Pass, at the foot of the Vöglinseck. Here a handful of half-armed peasants succeeded in repeating the victory of Morgarten by using the tactics there so successfully adopted. Learning from their scouts that the Abbot's forces were to pass the narrow defiles of the Speicher, a few hundred peasants stationed themselves on the neighbouring height, and collected a quantity of boulders to hurl down on their opponents. When the enemy's cavalry (most of which were very heavily armed) were well in the pass they were suddenly assailed with a shower of huge stones and trees that quickly caused first a panic and then a stampede, in which the frightened horses turned and trampled to death many of the infantry who were close in their rear. In the midst of this confusion the little band of Appenzell and Swiss mountaineers poured down the slopes on either side and fell on their enemies with wild shouts of defiance. In their impetuosity they carried all before them, and completed

the general rout of the invaders, who fell on all sides in great numbers. Nearly a thousand corpses remained of the brilliant army that shortly before rode so gaily into the fatal pass. Those that escaped the general slaughter managed with difficulty to reach St. Gallen, whence they fled to their homes.

After this victory the Swabian towns withdrew their support from the Abbey, and an attempt was made by the Swiss Confederates to bring about peace. The negotiations, however, fell through, and the war recommenced. Though deprived of the support of the League, the Abbot obtained the help of the Austrian Duke Frederic, who assembled his troops and entered Appenzell. On their side Rudolph, Count of Werdenberg, whom the Austrians had deprived of his estates, threw in his lot with the communes, and was chosen their leader. After several minor engagements, an important battle with the Duke's main army took place in the mountains of the Rheinthal in June, 1405.

Battle of Rheinthal, June 17, 1405.

Stationed on a spur of the mountain over which the Austrians were to advance, the Appenzellers received the enemy with a storm of stones and tree-trunks, that, added to the slippery nature of the wet grassy slopes (the rain fell heavily on the day of the battle), soon threw the invaders' ranks into confusion. Rudolph then gave the signal to his followers, who rushed on their foes, and a desperate hand-to-hand encounter took place. Just when the battle was at its height, and the issue was hanging in the balance, a fresh contingent of Appenzellers was seen rapidly approaching from the neighbouring heights. The sight of this reinforcement created a panic amongst the Austrians, who retreated, and the peasants falling on their now disorganised ranks, slew them whole-

sale. After the fight and subsequent pursuit, which lasted six hours, the peasants returned to the field of battle, and there on their knees returned thanks to God for their victory. The force that so opportunely appeared, and turned the tide of battle, was composed entirely of the *wives* and *daughters* of the peasant-soldiers, who, wrapped in their shepherd's frocks, had determined to share the perils their husbands and brothers were enduring for their freedom.

Shortly after this victory the Austrian Duke unsuccessfully tried to capture the town of St. Gallen, but attempting to invade Appenzell was repulsed with loss, and obliged to retire into the Tyrol. The peasants then formed an alliance with the town, and the Abbot, who had taken refuge in Wyl, returned to his abbey, and the Count of Werdenberg was reinstated in his estates. The war, however, continued for several years longer. The peasants conquered the Rheinthal, entered the Tyrol, destroyed or captured nearly a hundred cattle, burnt many villages, and ravaged many of the territories bordering the Boden See. After these successes, they
A.D. 1408. laid siege to Bregenz (1408). Here the tide of victory, so long favourable to the Appenzellers, changed, as being surprised by a large body of Swabians, they sustained a severe reverse, which considerably cooled the enthusiasm of the self-appointed liberators. Shortly after the defeat of Bregenz, the German Emperor called upon the peasants to lay down their arms and make submission to the Abbey. This order they refused to obey, and were accordingly placed under the "ban of the empire," as also under that of the Church. Neither sentence affected the peasants, whose ardour in the cause of liberty was on the contrary again awakened.

Whilst the struggle continued, circumstances once more favoured the fulfilment of their aspirations. First, the death of the Abbot of St. Gallen removed their chief enemy, then both the Empires of Germany and Rome were thrown into the throes of civil war by the rival claimants for the vacant thrones. Under these circumstances peace was at last brought about (1411), by the terms of which the Abbey gave up its seignorial rights over the communes, and engaged not to punish those who had taken part in the revolt.

Peace and alliance with the Swiss, A.D. 1411.

On their side the peasants agreed to continue the payment of certain taxes to the Abbey, and to restore the Rheinthal to Austria. In the same year the Appenzellers were admitted into co-burghership with the Confederates, on condition that they undertook in future to abstain from all wars unless began with the consent of the Swiss League. In 1412, a similar treaty of alliance was drawn up between the Confederates and the town of St. Gallen for a period of ten years. In these treaties the name of Bern is conspicuously absent, that city "taking no interest in Eastern affairs" (Segesser). In 1412 also, the Austrians concluded a peace for fifty years with the Confederates, to which Appenzell was likewise admitted and referred to as a free territory.

A.D. 1412.

This long and bloodthirsty contest not only brought out the heroism of the shepherds of Appenzell, and ended in their emancipation from practical slavery, but made their names, till then unknown, celebrated over many lands. The treaty they had fought and suffered so much to obtain brought them freedom and far greater prosperity than had ever before existed in their country. "This treaty was the price of the courage and steady

perseverance shown by the people of Appenzell. Unfortunately to these qualities were added a savagery and cruelty that often threw a sinister gloom over their heroism, and which in later times caused the Confederates to repent their generosity in admitting them to their friendship"—(Daguet).

Council of Constanz, A.D. 1415.

The celebrated Council of Constanz, called together in 1415 by the Emperor Sigismund, ostensibly to reform the many scandals that then threatened the existence of the Church, brought fresh troubles to Switzerland. The assembly consisted of 2,500 Patriarchs, Cardinals, Bishops and Priests, besides learned representative men from England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and other countries. At the time of its meeting, three rival Popes were contending for the Pontificial chair, John XXIII., Gregory, and Benedict. As it was felt that whatever Pope was chosen might at once exercise his spiritual authority to dissolve the council, and thus prevent the Church reforms so much needed, every Cardinal present took an oath that should he be elected he would not close the congress till the work of reformation was accomplished. The value of this oath was soon seen. After much deliberation, the three rival Popes were deposed, and Otho Colonna, of Rome, elected, under the title of Martin V. No sooner had this ecclesiastic received the tiara than, rising before his astonished brethren, he impressively uttered the authoritative words, "The Council is at an end." A great cry of indignation went up from the assembled reformers, but went up in vain. Amongst the other acts accomplished by the Council were the excommunication of Duke Frederic of Austria, who supported one of the rival Popes and refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Emperor,

and the judicial murder of Johann Huss, of Prague, for heresy.

Johann Huss.

The murder of the great Hungarian reformer stands prominently out of the long list of foul deeds done in the name of religion. Having already roused a great part of Hungary against the abuses of the Church, he came to Constanz to answer for his preaching under a safe conduct granted by the Emperor. In spite of this, Huss was condemned by the Emperor and the Council for heresy, and actually burnt alive at Gottlieben, the perjured monarch excusing himself on the plea that his pledged word did not bind him when dealing with a heretic.[1] Thus ended this celebrated Council of all the great lights of Christendom, from whose deliberations the whole Christian world expected such vast and far-reaching results. It deposed three Popes, it committed a dastardly assassination, it excommunicated an Austrian Duke, and it elected a man as supreme earthly head of the Church who signalised his accession to his holy office by breaking his solemnly plighted oath.

War with Austria, A.D. 1415.

Frederic's excommunication was quickly followed by the Emperor placing him under the "ban of the empire," and inviting his subjects to make war upon him. This invitation Sigismund also addressed to the Swiss Cantons, who at first refused, mindful of their treaty obligations to the Duke. Bern and Zürich, however, soon forgot their scruples, and were followed by

1 The Dominican Convent where the Council of Constanz held its sittings, and where, in a dungeon 8 by 6 by 7 feet in size, Johann Huss was kept chained previous to his execution, was secularised towards the close of the 18th century. It was afterwards converted into a linen manufactory, a curious fate for a place that had heard the deliberations of the great Council over which the perjured Sigismund presided—(Coxe).

the rest of the Confederates, with the exceptions of Uri and the men of Appenzell.

Large Swiss armies quickly took the field, and many important Austrian towns and districts were captured, amongst others Baden, Bremgarten, Aarau, Lenzburg, Brugg and Zoffingen. In a few weeks Bern alone had conquered the greater portion of the Aargau, whilst Luzern took possession of Sursee, Meyenberg, and other places. The Castle of Habsburg, the ancient cradle of the rulers of Austria, fell, with many other places, into the hands of Bern.

Uri's Ambition, A.D. 1403.

Uri's abstention from joining the general plundering of Austria's possessions, appears less due to her feeling the obligations of the recently concluded peace, than to her being fully occupied in extending her own possessions south of the Alps. In 1403 she occupied the Val Tellina, and seven years later obtained command over the St. Gothard Pass, by annexing the Urseren

A.D. 1419.

Valley. In 1419 she bought Bellinzona from the overlord of that town, and, after acquiring other territories, began active hostilities against the Duke of Milan, who eventually succeeded in recapturing most of his

A.D. 1443.

lost possessions. The Val Tellina was in 1443 again taken by Uri, with the help of a number of the people of the Graubünden.

Common Bailiwicks.

On a reconciliation being effected between Germany and Austria, the Emperor tried to persuade the Swiss to restore their newly-acquired districts, but this they resolutely refused to do, and that in spite of many threats to coerce them. Most of the conquered places that had been taken by the united forces of the Confederates were governed as Common Bailiwicks, under the rule of local Governors appointed by them, whilst

those districts individual states had taken remained as subject lands of those states. In their rule of these subject possessions the Swiss democrats entirely forgot the great principles of freedom and justice they themselves had fought so hard to obtain, as in very many instances their rule was most intolerant, cruel, and shamelessly unjust. The government of the Common Bailiwicks eventually brought about civil war and the break-up of the old Swiss Confederation.

In 1418 a treaty was concluded between Germany and Austria, by which the latter renounced all rights over Aargau, Baden, Lenzburg, and the other places forming the conquered Bailiwicks, a result possibly due to a present made by the Swiss to the Emperor of 10,000 florins, in answer to his injunction to restore the conquered districts. A.D. 1418.

Uri.

The war that Uri with the assistance of Valais was carrying on with the Duke of Milan began to attract the attention of the other Swiss States from its duration, its extent, and its savage barbarity. In 1418, Bern brought the matter before the Confederation, when it was decided that Uri and Valais should submit to the Duke's authority. This they refused to do, and Bern despatched 13,000 of her men to enforce the Duke's decree. After two sanguinary battles, in both of which the Bernese were defeated with great loss, peace was made, and the districts of Valais obtained the privilege of local self-government in alliance with the Confederation (1420). A.D. 1418.

The Swiss had now commenced a new phase of their existence. Already hard rulers of subject districts acquired by engaging in an aggressive war without provocation, and against their treaty agreements, they were now to turn their arms against one another.

Toggenburg. A.D. 1436.

In 1436, the last of the Counts of the powerful House of Toggenburg, Frederic IV., expired, leaving his extensive territories without a successor. These territories included the districts of Toggenburg (or the upper valley of the Thur), Uznach, Gasler, Rheinthal, Sargans, the Upper Marshes, and the "Ten Jurisdictions." Before his death Frederic became a burgher of Zürich (1402) and, later, a burgher of Schwyx (1417). Both Zürich and Schwyx upon these grounds claimed the Toggenburg as their lawful right, and Schwyx moreover succeeded in taking possession of several large estates. On their part the communes of the coveted districts were divided in their ideas as to whom they owed allegiance, and whilst some sided with one party, some with another, others declared themselves independent, and others again sought the protection of Austria. War was only prevented from at once breaking out between Zürich and Schwyx by the intervention of the other Confederates. A Diet sitting at Luzern in 1437 decided in favour of Schwyx. At this time the destinies of the rival states were swayed by two men, Ital Reding in Schwyx, and Rudolph Stüssi in Zürich, whose names have long been remembered in local chronicles as heroes. Reding was a cool-headed, calculating and tenacious politician, whilst Stüssi was a man of immense stature, who carried all before him by his presence and the impetuosity of his character.

The decision of the Confederate Diet caused great mortfiication to Zürich and her burghers (despite the penalty of the League for refusing to obey the mandates of the majority) at once prepared to enforce their claims by the sword. This action brought down the wrath of the Confederates upon Zürich, who was threatened with immediate attack unless she submitted.

Disregarding this menace Zürich at once began hostilities by invading Schwyx. The challenge was quickly responded to by Reding, and 1,500 men faced one another with deadly hate. When the war opened in earnest many of the states sent large contingents to aid Schwyx. With these Reding was enabled to inflict several defeats on the Zürich burghers, the most important taking place at Pfæffikon (December 1st, 1440). This decided reverse compelled Zürich to accept terms of peace and even to restore the portions of the Toggenburg estates she had already occupied, whilst Schwyx was permitted to retain what she had taken. A.D. 1440.

For a while Zürich appeared to bow to the superior strength of the League, but she closed her markets to her successful rival and her allies, and refused to hold any communication with her. Constant collisions between the peasants of the two states fed the flame of bad feeling, and at last in 1442, in spite of the efforts of the other Confederates to maintain peace, the men of Zürich took up arms and prepared to invade Schwyx. In order the better to do this Zürich entered into a treaty of perpetual alliance with the Austrian Duke Frederic, who had been elected Emperor of Germany. Frederic shortly after repaired to Zürich, where he was received with great honours, and here the burghers, forgetting their patriotism in their hate against their fellow-countrymen, swore fidelity to the Empire, and, tearing from their sleeves the white cross that distinguished the Swiss in their wars, assumed the red cross of Austria. *Civil War* A.D. 1442.

This action was a practical withdrawal of Zürich from the Confederation. Though doubtless she acted

within her rights, according to the terms by which she entered the League, her conduct filled Switzerland with indignation, and presently an army of 15,000 men from all the states was formed and placed under the command of the redoubtable Schwyx leader to punish her, Zürich meanwhile being strongly garrisoned by the Austrians, and receiving promises of support from Winterthur, Rapperschwyl, and other important places, looked forward to becoming the chief centre of a new Confederation. The struggle that now followed was carried on with all the barbarity and savage vindictiveness that characterises wars between those of one blood and one country. After several encounters, with varying fortune, in which many villages and towns were captured and destroyed, and much damage done to the surrounding country, the Confederates marched on Zürich. Close to that city, at the little village of Weidikon on the Sihl, the two armies met, and a terrible
A.D. 1443. battle was fought (July, 1443). The engagment lasted long, and was attended with great slaughter. Though the Confederates were superior in numbers, the Zürich troops, fighting as they were at the portals of their city, were animated with the courage of desperation. At length, when the battle was at its height, a band of Confederates succeeded in approaching their enemies' flank, by displaying the Austrian cross before them, and thus appearing to be friends. When within a short distance, they suddenly made a furious charge, killing all before them, and causing a panic to seize the foe, the remnant of whose now diminished forces made a precipitate flight into Zürich. The Zürich leader, Stüssi, clad in armour, and brandishing a formidable battle-axe, stood on the draw-bridge, and vainly

endeavoured to reanimate his men, one of whom is believed to have slain him by driving his spear into his body as he rushed into the city panic-stricken. The night was spent by the victors in drinking and carousing amid the bodies of the dead and dying on the field of battle. Failing to capture the city, the Confederates later behaved with the greatest savagery, laying waste with fire and sword the whole neighbouring country, and slaughtering every man, woman and child wherever they met with the least resistance. The little town of Greiffensee, that surrendered at discretion, was burnt to the ground after the whole of its garrison had been butchered by order of Reding. An incident that occurred after the battle of Zürich will show the spirit that animated the Swiss "in the brave days of old" when engaged in slaughtering one another. Amongst the slain, a party of Glarus soldiers discovered the body of Stüssi (who himself, though the leader of the Zürich burghers, was by birth a Glarusman). Looking upon him as the instigator of the war, and as a traitor to his state, they stripped off his clothes and placed his naked body against a tree, and then attacking him like wild beasts, they tore out his heart with their teeth. After this act of inhuman brutality, they greased their boots with his fat, and then cast his mutilated remains into the Sihl—(Daguet).

Meanwhile a small number of the most influential among the more moderate party at Zürich, without consulting their fellow-citizens, went to Baden, and there concluded a treaty of peace with the Confederates (March, 1444), by the terms of which Zürich was to renounce her alliance with Austria, and return to the *status quo ante*. On bringing this back to Zürich, the A.D. 1444.

Austrians and the war party were so furious that at last their threatening aspect induced the municipal authorities to repudiate the treaty, and arrest its framers. These unfortunate men were then tried, condemned to death, tortured and executed (April). Ten other citizens were next put to death, and many others were fined and imprisoned for publicly declaring for peace and re-alliance with the Confederation.

Siege of Zürich.

The next scene in the bloody drama was the siege of Zürich by 20,000 Confederates. During this siege the constitution was suspended, and the whole city placed under the autocratic rule of a council of twelve burghers, with an Austrian officer as military leader. The heroism of her defenders and the strength of her fortifications enabled Zürich to offer a long-sustained defence till succour arrived. This help came in the form of 30,000 irregular troops known as *Armagnacs*, from their being composed largely of the remnants of that faction in France, and also called *Filii Belial*, or *Écorcheurs* (from their cruelty), sent by Charles VII. of France, to whom the Austrians had appealed. This vast army, under the personal command of the Dauphin, after devastating the lands over which it passed, and slaughtering thousands of unresisting people, appeared before the gates of Basel. News of the formidable invasion being carried quickly to the Confederates, the latter (not knowing the strength of the French) detached 1,200 of their forces from before Farnsburg (which town they were then besieging) and from Zürich to repel them. "On the 26th of August this little band met the advanced guard of the Armagnacs at Brattelen and drove them back beyond the river Birs. The main body of the enemy was posted on the left bank of the

Invasion of French.

river. The Swiss, seeing the bridge of St. Jacob well guarded, threw themselves into the stream and forded it, notwithstanding the fire of the French artillery. Having reached the opposite bank, they cut their way through the numerous ranks of the Armagnacs with the intention of reaching Basel. The inhabitants of that city, seeing from the summit of their towers the efforts of this band of heroes, made a sortie to join them; but a body of 8,000 horse, which the Dauphin had placed on that side, drove them back into the city. The Swiss were divided; a body of them, surrounded in the plain by forces ten times their number, were all slain, after making dreadful havoc among their enemies; they fell in their ranks close to each other. Another party of 500 threw themselves into the hospital and chapel of St. Jacob. The gardens of the hospital were surrounded by high walls; there this handful of Swiss, hemmed in by a whole army, stood, determined to sell their lives dearly. Three times they repelled the attack, twice they sallied out like lions against the close ranks of their enemies; at last the walls were battered down by cannon, and the French cavaliers, having dismounted, entered the breach, yet the Swiss still opposed a desperate resistance. The hospital and chapel took fire, and the surviving Confederates were smothered among the ruins. Out of 1,200 Swiss, who fought on that day, ten alone escaped by flight, and these were shunned and driven away with scorn in every part of Switzerland for not having shared the fate of their comrades. The fight lasted ten hours. Thousands of men and horses of the Armagnacs strewed the field of battle. The Dauphin was dismayed at the sight of his own loss; and, hearing that the whole Confederate army was moving against him from the

St. Jacob A.D. 1444.

camp before Zürich, he thought it prudent not to attempt to proceed any further, after such a specimen as he had witnessed of Swiss intrepidity. Eneas Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., who happened to be at Basel at the time, mentions in his epistles several circumstances of that memorable combat.[1] He says the Swiss, having emptied their quivers, snatched out of their wounds the arrows of their enemies, and shot them back. . . . Two days after the battle, the Dauphin granted a safe conduct to the citizens of Basel to bury the dead and carry away the wounded—1,158 Swiss were found dead, and 32 wounded. The Dauphin withdrew his army, and signed a peace with the cantons and with Basel in the following October. Struck with admiration at the bravery of the Swiss, he even sought their alliance, and this was the origin of the long friendship and connection between the French kings and the Helvetian body"—(Vieusseux). In spite of this treaty, which was signed at Einisheim, an end was not made to the excesses of the French soldiers, who devastated the country on their line of march, killing over 20,000 men while some 10,000 of their own ranks fell by the hands of the enraged peasants—(Ochs).

Failing to reduce Zürich, the Confederates raised the siege, and continued the struggle for some six years longer with every kind of savage brutality, large numbers falling victims to the passions of the contending states. Battles of minor importance took place on the Rhine, the Reuss, on the borders of the Lakes of Zürich

1 This battle, disastrous as it was in its losses to France, was boasted of by Charles VII. on a medal he had struck, representing two prisoners fastened back to back, with the inscription, "Helvetiorum contumacia et temeritas ferro frenata, MCCCCXLIV."

and Constanz, at Freyburg, Baden, Rapperschwyl, Bremgarten, and many other places.

On December 16th, 1445, the men of Zürich fought a naval battle on their lake with the ships of Schwyx, in which the latter were entirely destroyed. In March of the same year, Ital Reding the Younger, with a force of 1,500 men, fought and defeated an Austrian contingent of 6,000 at Ragatz. The celebrated Schwyx leader, Reding the Elder, died two years after this victory of his son. A.D. 1445.

The endless and always bloody battles of the two sides at last began to make peace a necessity, as the numbers slain left very few who could carry on the war. Both sides were wearied out, and if not any better friends, were too exhausted to continue killing one another. At this moment Louis of France and Bern offered their mediation, and succeeded in bringing about a congress at Constanz to settle the terms of peace.

The terms eventually agreed to, included the necessity of Zürich renouncing her alliance with Austria and returning to the Swiss League. Both Zürich and Schwyx were ordered to restore the districts they had conquered, with the exceptions of Pfæffikon and Wohan, which Schwyx was allowed to retain. The possession of the Toggenburg estates, the original cause of the war, was by mutual consent given to the Baron of Rarogne, a relative of the deceased Count. *Peace,* A.D. 1450.

"No war was ever carried on with greater fury and marked by greater excesses of all kinds than that which terminated in the Peace of Constanz. To murder, rape, incendiarism and pillage, the Swiss, led away by hatred, added terrible acts of profanation. More than thirty churches were destroyed, their tombs violated,

their sacred vessels broken up or stolen, the holy elements profaned, and images and crucifixes treated in the most impious manner. These acts of hideous vandalism were accompanied by the most frightful blasphemies against God, the Virgin, and the Saints of Zürich, as if the faith of the latter was not also that of the Confederates of the other states"—(Daguet).

Savoy, A.D. 1448.

Whilst these troubles were agitating the cantons, the Duke of Savoy, Amadeus VIII., succeeded in establishing his sovereign rights over Geneva and a large portion of Vaud. Later he defeated the burghers of Freyburg and obliged this city to acknowledge him after she had appealed in vain to Bern for protection (1448).

Strengthened as the Confederation now was, it soon began to increase its power by forming alliances with various towns and districts of importance. Of these new allies, known as *Zugewandte Orte*, some, such as St. Gallen and Bienne, were admitted into close relations, having seats and votes in the Diets. Others, as Schaffhausen, Mühlhausen, and Rothwell, were admitted to alliance without the privilege of sharing the councils of the Confederation. These alliances, however, soon brought Switzerland once more in collision with Austria, who viewed with apprehension the rapid growth of the influence and strength of the Confederation. In 1458 the Swiss formed an alliance with Rapperschwyl, and this was made a *casus belli* by the then Duke Sigismund, who claimed feudal rights over Elsass, Thurgau and the Tyrol. Fortune again favoured the Confederates, who overran Thurgau, and occupied Sargans, carrying all before them. So great indeed were the Austrian reverses, that in 1461, the

War with Austria, A.D. 1458.

A.D. 1461.

Duke not only made peace, but renounced his claims. Thurgau then became a "subject territory" divided into districts under the rule of the Confederation. In 1467, Zürich purchased from Sigismund all his rights A.D. 1467. over Winterthur, by which act the Habsburgs lost, with the single exception of the Frickthal (retained till 1802), all their possessions within the Confederation. In 1468, a large Swiss army marched against certain A.D. 1468. of the lesser feudal nobles, who for some time past had been harassing Mühlhausen and Schaffhausen. The nobles were quickly defeated, and siege was laid to Waldshut, which town was only saved from capture by Sigismund purchasing peace at the price of 50,000 A.D. 1469. guldens. In order to raise this sum the Duke hypothecated the Black Forest districts on the Rhine, Elsass, and other places to Charles the Rash, of Burgundy, who further undertook to support Sigismund in the event of the Swiss attacking him again.

This treaty was fated to bring fresh troubles upon *Burgundy.* Switzerland, to deluge her soil once more with blood, and to lead to some of her most heroic deeds.

CHAPTER X

A.D. 1460-1516.

THE BURGUNDIAN, GERMAN, AND FRENCH WARS

THE long and sanguinary civil and foreign turmoils through which Switzerland had just passed greatly developed the national taste of her people for war and conquest. The simple habits and customs of the Swiss were now exchanged for more luxurious modes of living; their primitive piety in religion was changed into an ostentatious and intolerant bearing against those who differed from them; success in war filled the nation with the conviction that Swiss soldiers must be invincible. "Wherever there was room for martial enterprise, the youth of Switzerland asked not what was the cause at stake, but where was the seat of warfare."

An opportunity to test their fighting qualities was now to present itself such as had never happened all through their tumultuous past.

Charles the Rash, A.D. 1467-76.

Ever since Louis XI. and Charles the Rash (usually, but erroneously, called the Bold) respectively occupied the thrones of France and Burgundy, the mutual distrust and hatred of these monarchs made a great contest merely a question of time and opportunity. Through their enmity Switzerland eventually became engulfed in her greatest war, out of which she emerged the conqueror of Burgundy and the willing slave of France.

On his accession to his father Philip's estates in Burgundy, Charles, though nominally a vassal of the French king, found himself one of the most powerful sovereigns in Europe. His rule extended from the North Sea to the Jura and the Rhine, and before his death he ruled over Burgundy, Elsass, Lorraine, Picardy, Flanders and the Franche-Comté. The object of his life was, by increasing and strengthening his possessions, to found a great central kingdom between France and Germany, an object, however, he was not destined to see realised. Of a frank and generous disposition, a warm and impulsive friend, and a bitter and ferocious enemy, his dominating characteristic was an unbounded ambition to increase the power and area of his dominions, and to make a name that would rank him with Charlemagne. Before attaining the reins of power Charles had carefully trained himself for his future *rôle* by excluding from his daily life every form of pleasure other than pursuits of a military and field nature, then regarded as the highest functions of a great king. When his father died he at once commenced to put in practice his ambitious designs. Everything, moreover, favoured his plans at the commencement of his career. His name was already feared abroad, his territories were rich and extensive, his people prosperous and loyal, and his troops well disciplined, well armed, and many. Till his conflict with the Swiss, in 1465, he carried on extensive wars with his powerful neighbours, in which he was uniformly victorious. A large part of his career, both before he reigned and after his father's death, was occupied in intrigues and conspiracies against the French King.

Louis XI., A.D. 1461-83.

Louis, King of France, Charles' bitter rival and constant foe, possessed all the qualities, in an exaggerated degree, that go to form a successful politician and a dishonourable man. "To the attainment of an object he proceeded without scruple, by direct or indirect paths. He employed mildness and vigour by turns, Divine and human authority, flattery and bribery, constantly fraud, rarely force. Fidelity to his word he only practised when it served his purposes. So soon as profit appeared on the other side he never scrupled to violate his most positive engagements. It was said of him 'that he only slept with one eye in war time, but kept both his eyes open day and night in time of peace'"—(Lardner). Such was the character of the man through whose policy Burgundy was ruined, and through whom for many years Switzerland was converted into little better than a vassal of France. Whilst the French and Burgundian rivals were striving for the mastery on one side of her country, Switzerland had her hereditary foe, Austria, now under the mild and feeble rule of Sigismund, on the other, and Frederick IV. governed the destinies of Germany on her Northern frontier.

There is very good reason to believe that the action of Austria in pawning her estates of Elsass, etc., to Burgundy for money with which to stave off the Swiss attack on Waldshut, was done on the advice of Louis, and formed one of the most successful *coups* of that crafty and far-seeing monarch. The French king, knowing thoroughly the characteristics of both the Swiss and of Charles, was very well able to see that the Burgundian's ambition would certainly prevent him from relinquishing the hypothecated lands when once he had

obtained a footing in them. He also knew that the excitable and bellicose Swiss, finding themselves with such an equally excitable and warlike neighbour as Charles, would very soon commence hostilities. Such hostilities when once commenced would, moreover, mean a war to the death. And so the event proved.

Peter von Hagenbach.

Having taken the mortgage from Sigismund, and furnished the sum in exchange the Austrian Duke required, Charles at once entered into possession of the estates, and appointed a *Vogt* to govern in his name. This *Vogt* was a cruel and tyrannical knight, named Peter von Hagenbach, who rose from a humble position by his crafty abilities in Charles' service. His overbearing manner and the many arts of brutality he showed, soon earned him an evil reputation, and brought the people under his rule into a condition little removed from open revolt. Neither did Hagenbach only confine his deeds to the pawned provinces. His brutalities had already drawn forth remonstrances from the neighbouring Swiss Confederates, but these Charles contemptuously disregarded. After threatening to punish the citizens of Mühlhausen for being in alliance with the Swiss, Hagenbach had the temerity to arrest some of the inhabitants of Schenkenberg and to display the Burgundian flag on his Bernese possession. This conduct, supported as it was by Charles, at once led to an outburst of indignation in the Confederation, a feeling greatly fostered by Louis' agents. An alliance between A.D. 1470. Louis and the Confederates followed, and war was now only prevented by the moderation and tact displayed by Bern, that managed for a time to smooth matters down. But Louis' intrigues and lavish bribes amongst the Swiss leaders, and Hagenbach's continued oppression

and insults, and last, but not least, Charles' contemptuous reception of a Swiss deputation that sought to obtain the *Vogt's* removal, soon brought the crisis to an acute stage.

Treaties with France and Austria, A.D. 1476.

By the unanimous consent of the Confederates, Bern was chosen to take the direction of Swiss affairs as regards France. Through her, in 1476, a formal offensive and defensive alliance was drawn up, by which the Swiss agreed to supply Louis with a contingent of 6,000 men whenever he might need them. On his part, in the event of war, Louis was to be called upon only in case of great necessity, and in all wars with Burgundy he might substitute a money payment for assistance in men. This alliance naturally was greatly in favour of France, as, while it called the Swiss to arms against Louis' rival, it prevented the French king from drawing upon his own subjects for troops. The Swiss were thus cajoled into fighting Louis' battles for that astute monarch, and a powerful French party was soon established within the Confederation.[1]

Austrian Alliance, A.D. 1476.

Another very important alliance was now also formed. After many negotiations Austria at last succeeded in healing the feud that for so long had prevented her meeting the Swiss except on the field of battle. Under the guarantee of France a perpetual treaty of

1 The treaty of alliance with France bears the date of Oct. 26, 1476. Anything but unanimity appears to have existed amongst the Confederates with regard to making it, but Louis' bribery carried his point. Louis further greatly flattered the Swiss by addressing them officially as the "magnifiques seigneurs des huit Ligues de la Haute-Allemagne." The treaty also engaged Louis to pay 20,000 francs in advance, and to promise an annual pension of 2,000 florins to each of the states of the league in the event of war, and 50,000 florins if he substituted money for a military contingent for their assistance.

peace and alliance was signed between the Confederates and Sigismund, which pledged each to support the other when attacked. The Duke also renounced his claims on Switzerland and guaranteed free intercouse and trade between the Swiss and his own subjects. In order to show his good faith and to seal the compact he further made a state visit to Switzerland, where he was received everywhere with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and respect. Few treaties have ever so quickly closed a mutual hatred between two people that had caused so many sanguinary battles, and the loss of so many thousands of lives, as did this Austrian Alliance of 1476. Its object was purely selfish on the part of the Duke, but its ultimate good effects on Switzerland cannot be over-estimated.

Everything was now prepared for a war with Burgundy, in which the Swiss were to be used by France, Germany and Austria, to curb or destroy the formidable Duke, whose increasing power threatened to endanger the safety of one or all of his three neighbours.

Hagenbach's Death, A.D. 1476.

Meanwhile the excesses of Hagenbach had aroused the people under his rule to revolt. His immediate followers were quickly overpowered and the *Vogt* himself thrown into prison, when a month later he was executed at the orders of a council comprised of local nobles, Austrian councillors, representatives from the Swiss, and others. It is said that no less than eight candidates disputed for the honour of being the tyrant's executioner (May, 1476). Charles' anger on receiving the news of the Governor's death was unbounded, but though he threatened to take dire vengeance, he was unable at once to do so, being engaged in besieging the

imperial town of Neuss on the Rhine. This siege detained Charles for eleven months and cost him 15,000 men.

Already the Austrian Duke had tried in vain to recover the territories he had placed in pawn, by offering to repay the borrowed money. Charles declared himself the actual owner of the land, and as quite prepared to maintain his claims by the sword. Sigismund then appealed to the Emperor, who ordered the restitution of the land, and Charles still maintaining his refusal, the Emperor next called upon the Confederates to attack Burgundy (Oct. 9). Switzerland and Austria thereupon formally declared war upon Charles (Oct. 25), and two days later opened hostilities in earnest.

War with Burgundy October, A.D. 1474.

This declaration of war by the Swiss, undertaken so promptly in the interests of others, was certainly a serious matter for the Confederates. Though allied to France and Austria, the former did not furnish them with men, and the latter only sent an insignificant number. They were thus left to fight single-handed the powerful Burgundian ruler. The war also cut off from the Swiss a great many of their necessary provisions, as most of their salt, corn and wine came from Burgundy. The little town of Cerlier, on the Lake of Bienne, a feudal possession of Charles, was the first point attacked. Here an army of 18,000 Confederates managed to effect an easy victory, and then marched upon Héricourt in the Franche-Comté, where they were met by the Burgundians 20,000 strong. After a prolonged battle the enemy retreated with a loss of nearly 5,000 killed and prisoners, and the town was captured.

Battle of Héricourt.

The victory gained, the Swiss gave up Héricourt to the Austrians, from whom they received a large money

payment for their brilliant services, and then returned to their country, the severity of the winter being so intense that further military movements were rendered very difficult for the present. The pause did not, however, last long. In April of the following year the Confederates took and partially destroyed Pontarlier, besides many towns in the Vaud districts, then under the rule of Savoy. A.D. 1475.

In October the Swiss were further strengthened by an alliance between Valais and Bern, when the people of the former district prevented the Milanese troops of Savoy from passing through their territory to reinforce Charles. During the first part of this campaign Bern took by far the most important share in the fighting, and in Vaud alone captured some sixty towns, villages and castles. In these victories the Bernese soldiers not only distinguished themselves by their wonderful dash and heroism, but also by their numberless acts of savage cruelty. In many places the inhabitants of the conquered districts were masacred wholesale, the soldiers thrown from the battlements, the leading men beheaded, and the women and children either hacked to pieces or compelled to leap into the lake. These enormities, indeed, at last became so great that the authorities at Bern forwarded the troops a remonstrance and recalled the words of the covenant of Sempach lest, as they said, "their frightful cruelties should call down upon them the wrath of God and the Saints." *Alliance between Bern and Valais, October*, 1475.

Lausanne was occupied by the victorious Confederates and compelled to pay a heavy ransom, as was also Geneva, though the latter town had already refused to take any active participation in the war.

These and many other victories were effected by the

Swiss in quick succession, till at last Charles, having completed his conquest of Lorraine and made an alliance with Edward IV. of England, collected his forces at Nancy, and prepared to punish his Swiss adversaries, especially the Bernese. On reaching Besançon he was joined by his corps of artillery, and here his army numbered close upon 40,000 which, though including a body of English archers, was composed chiefly of untrained and hastily levied recruits. Although attended by the greater part of his Court and some 40,000 servants and camp-followers, Charles made a rapid march, and crossing the Jura laid siege to Grandson (February). This little town, having already been captured by the Bernese and containing a garrison of only 412 soldiers, yet managed to repulse two attacks of the Burgundians, and hold out till, reduced to extremities, it was forced to surrender, when Charles immediately had the whole of the gallant defenders hanged or drowned before his eyes.

Siege of Grandson, Feb., 1476.

In the following month the Swiss army, to the number of 20,000, marched on Grandson, burning to avenge the atrocious murder of their countrymen. On March 2nd, the great battle of Grandson was fought, when the heroic valour and discipline of the Swiss proved more than a match for the superior numbers and better arms of their Burgundian foes. "The vanguard of the Swiss, the men of Schwyx and Thun, accompanied by numerous volunteers, advanced from Neuchâtel. It was early on a dull and misty morning. Having ascended the heights in the neighbourhood of the Castle, they saw to their astonishment, when the vapours cleared from the low ground, the whole force of the enemy drawn out in the valley before them. The

Battle of Grandson, March 2, 1476.

Burgundians advanced. The Swiss sent back to hasten the march of their slowly advancing main body, and then fell on their knees to pray, according to the custom of their fathers. The enemy, unacquainted with this pious usage, and imagining that the whole Confederate Army was before them, and had fallen on its knees to implore mercy, raised a simultaneous shout of derision. A troop of cuirassiers dashed forward to trample down the supplicants, but was indifferently received by the long spears of the Confederates, and effectually repulsed by their advance in close order. After a discharge from the Burgundian artillery, which was pointed too high to take much effect, Charles endeavoured, with his best troops, to break the line of the Swiss in front, while Count Louis, of Château Guyon, a personal foe of the Confederates, charged them in flank, at the head of 6,000 horse. Now was the hottest rage of battle. The Swiss were hard pressed. Twice had Château Guyon seized, with his own hand, the banner of Schwyx, when he was struck down. His troops wavered, dismayed by the fall of their leader. At this moment, a new and fearful sound arose from the heights in the rear of the Confederates, and drew thither the eyes of the Burgundians. A fresh array of combatants covered the ridge, the horn of Uri blew the note of death, which was caught up and re-echoed by that of Unterwalden. And when the whole body of the Swiss, after discharging their pieces with deadly precision, came down, man upon man, while new bands issued continually from the hollow ways and thickets, that inexplicable panic came on the Burgundians, which occasionally seizes the most resolute. They gave up the battle for lost. A feint of their own cavalry, who

attempted, by a retrogade movement, to draw the Swiss into a disadvantageous position, was taken by the infantry as a signal for flight. Vainly did Charles, at the head of his horsemen, throw himself across the swarm of fugitives. The whole host fell asunder, and, instead of retreating to the fortified camp, where they might have rallied, took to flight, some towards Grandson, some into the woods and fields, some over the Arnon or the mountains, and others again in boats across the Lake. The unfortunate Prince, with only five companions, directed his flight through the nearest Pass of the Jura"—(Lardner).

After the victory Grandson was quickly captured, and many of the Burgundian garrison hanged with the same cords that Charles had used to execute the Swiss, some of whom were found hanging, "still fresh, from the trees."

More than 1,000 tents, 600 flags, 10,000 pack-horses, many guns, and a great quantity of powder, Charles' throne, his richly-furnished chapel, his private belongings, including great quantities of valuable diamonds, and a million florins, fell into the hands of the victors,[1] besides all the other belongings of his immense camp. The spoils were divided amongst the Confederates, but this division was neither fair nor in

1 Several of these objects still exist in the various museums, sacristies and arsenals of Switzerland. Basel possesses the conquered monarch's coat of mail and part of his horse's armour, besides some machines for throwing boiling oil and water. Luzern has preserved the ducal seal of gold, and other objects. Bern possesses ten historical pictures, two being about thirty feet in length, representing scenes from the Court life of Charles' father. In Solothurn and Freyburg are also to be seen many interesting relics of this memorable battle.

accordance with the Sempach rules, and gave rise in consequence to much bad blood and no little trouble later. After resting three days on the field of their late triumphs, the Confederates made a triumphal entry into Bern, the citizens of which all through the Burgundian campaigns took the principal part in the fighting and the direction of the policy and military movements of the Swiss. Charles, meanwhile, had retired to Lausanne, where he at once set about preparing another army with which to attack his Swiss conquerors. Within an incredibly short time he again had a formidable force under his command. This he raised by making a levy throughout his dominions of one in every six of his people, and by enlisting in his service a large number of foreigners, amongst whom were many English and a still greater contingent of Italians.

Battle of Morat, June, 1476.

In May Charles began his march, and on June 9th appeared before Morat, then held by 1,500 Bernese. The little garrison, knowing their countrymen would soon attempt to relieve them, held out gallantly till June 20th, when 30,000 Swiss and Austrians reached the neighbourhood of the besieged town.

June 20, 1476.

Directly the Confederates arrived they made a furious onslaught on their foes, who were also attacked by a sortie from the town. Totally unable to withstand the impetuosity of the Swiss, the Burgundian ranks were soon in complete disorder, and in spite of the heroic defence said to have been made by the English contingent, under one Dickfreed, another brilliant victory resulted to Swiss prowess. From 8,000 to 10,000 of the foe were killed outright or perished in the Lake and surrounding marshes, whilst the Swiss slain numbered only about 300. The chief cause of this

second Burgundian disaster was due to Charles having kept his troops under arms for several days previous to the battle during an almost continual downpour of rain, which so exhausted them that when the actual attack was made, the tired and depressed soldiers were quite unable to offer an effectual resistance.[1] The attack, moreover, of the Swiss took the Burgundians by surprise, as they did not expect it till the next day.

Bern and Freyburg now again occupied Vaud, as during Charles' march on Morat, Savoy had recaptured her old possessions. But at this second occupation Louis intervened and called together a congress of those interested in the holding of Vaud, fearing lest Switzerland should become too powerful. In the result it was settled that the territory should be restored to Savoy peaceably in return for a large money payment. Morat, Grandson, Orbe and Echallens, were, however, excepted, and handed over to Bern and Freyburg, while to Bern alone passed the towns of Aigle, Cerlier, Bex, Ormonts and Ollon. This new arrangement for the first time brought a number of French-speaking districts under the rule of the Swiss; it also created much jealousy among the rest of the Confederates at the increased power and importance of Bern.

In the closing months of 1476, Charles sought to make peace, but as the Swiss insisted upon his restoring the territories he had conquered from the Duke of Lorraine (who fought as an ally with the Confederates), the war once more began.

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1 "Cruel as at Morat" long remained a saying amongst the Swiss. It is difficult to believe the numbers of the Swiss slain given by contemporary and later chronicles as really representing the actual facts.

Charles again managed to raise troops to attack the Swiss, and to carry on his restless and ambitious designs. His first important move was now against the town of Nancy, that remained faithful to René, Duke of Lorraine. The dispossessed Duke thereupon demanded and obtained assistance from the Swiss, and with a force of 8,000 Lorrainers and 8,000 Confederates set out for Nancy. Under the walls of this town on January 5th, 1477, the two armies met and fought a most sanguinary battle, in which the Burgundians were entirely routed, and Charles himself slain. This crowning victory ended the short but terrible war, and closed the third and final act of the bloody drama that has been named the *Swiss Trilogy*, in which the Confederates played such important and heroic *rôles*. After Charles' death, Burgundy was divided between France and Austria, and René re-entered Lorraine, though Bern tried hard to have Charles' territories made a separate state and admitted into the League.

Battle of Nancy, Jan. 5, 1477.

"The history of Charles is a history of the highest and most varied interest. The tale, as a mere tale, as a narrative of personal adventure and a display of personal character, is one of the most attractive in European history"—(Freeman).

The Swiss thus fought the battles of Austria and France and destroyed the menacing power of Burgundy. They received large sums from both for their services besides immense treasures captured after each engagement.

The extraordinary heroism and fighting qualities of the Swiss rose above those of any other contemporary people, and were eagerly sought wherever war was present or expected. Swiss valour became a marketable

commodity and was henceforth sold to the highest bidder. The demoralising effect of this upon the national character, as seen in the rapid decline of old republican virtues, soon led to the most serious results, and even threatened to break up the Confederation.

The honour of being known as the greatest soldiers of the age was too dearly bought. Quarrels over the equitable division of the spoils of victory soon broke out between the Confederates. To these were added the bitter jealousies of the rural states *(länder)* against the fast growing influence and power of Bern, Zürich and Luzern. These fresh troubles arose through the demands of Freyburg and Solothurn to be admitted members of the Confederation, as a reward for the great services they had rendered during the late war. Bern strongly supported their demands, which were as strongly opposed by the Forest Cantons on account of the equality in the Diets between the towns and the *länder* their admission would make. At last, when popular disturbances began to assume a very serious aspect, and the general feeling of distrust appeared to leave nothing open but civil war, the exertions of a few patriotic men brought about peace. A general congress was called of representatives of all parties to try, if possible, to arrange a settlement of the difficulties that were rapidly ruining the country.

Covenant of Stanz, A.D. 1481.

The several deputies met at Stanz in December, 1481, and here the jealousies and local disputes became focussed, and quickly grew more and more serious; when at last mutual recriminations waxed so great that the meeting was about to break up and hostilities seemed inevitable, a mediator appeared and calmed the sea of savage passion.

For many years before the Stanz meeting, there lived in a rough grotto near Sachseln a pious and patriotic hermit, named Nicolas Flüe, or Brother Klaus. To this venerable man, whose saintly life and good deeds had given him great influence in the Waldstätten, news of the violent scenes enacted at the Diet was brought. Leaving his cell he at once repaired to Stanz, where, through his persuasive and authoritative eloquence, and in the character he claimed as a messenger from God, he converted the Swiss deputies from bitter enemies into firm friends. Klaus's words and appearance so acted on his hearers, that within a very short space of time a formal compact between the Confederates was agreed to—the "*Stanzer Verkommniss*"—whereby the Sempach covenant was renewed, the separate alliances of the cities were dissolved, and Solothurn and Freyburg were admitted into the League. It was further settled that no state should interfere with the internal affairs of another canton, except in cases of revolt and disturbance calculated to affect the interests of the nation, when the Confederation itself should exercise the necessary repressive measures. This compact restored peace to Switzerland and gave the Federal authority more power, and thus strengthened the League, besides uniting the people in the bonds of brotherly love and patriotic devotion.[1]

1 Nicolas von der Flüe, or Fluh, was born in 1417, at Sachseln in Obwald, of a noble family. After living the life successively of a simple peasant labourer, a magistrate, and a brilliant soldier, he retired, in 1467, to a rough grotto near his native place for prayer and meditation. Here his asceticism and his many good works earned him a saintly reputation, and people journeyed from all parts of the country to his abode for prayer or advice. He

War with Germany, A.D. 1499.

For many years the sovereignty of Germany over the Swiss gradually became less and less a reality, till after the Burgundian war, when it practically ceased altogether. In 1499, the then Emperor, Maximilian I., attempted to re-establish the power and increase the extent of his Empire, and to re-assert his authority over Switzerland. Ever since the Confederates' alliance with France, the Emperor had only waited a favourable opportunity to do this. Constant friction naturally followed, and at last, declaring the people of Rhætia were guilty of treason in forming an alliance with the Swiss, Maximilian invaded the Münsterthal with an army of 10,000 men, and took possession of Meyerfeld (January, 1499).

The Swiss, nothing loth to renew their warlike career, at once rallied to the support of their allies, and in February a combined force of Swiss and Rhætians met and defeated the Germans at Triesen, and then recaptured Meyerfeld. Many sanguinary battles followed in quick succession in Swabia,[1] in

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was even said to have lived for many years without other food than what he tasted when partaking of the Communion monthly. "If ever there was a Saint, Nicolas von der Flüe was one; though Obwald was not rich enough, nor Rome sufficiently generous to canonise him, yet his altar exists for all time in the hearts of his countrymen"—(Müller). The dramatic account given in most histories of Switzerland of Bruder Klaus' entry into the Diet appears to be entirely apocryphal, as all the evidence on the subject distinctly points to his never having appeared before the assembled deputies at all. He seems to have talked to them separately outside the meeting, and gained his point by his earnest speech.

1 Swabia at this time was a province of Southern Germany, and included the Würtemberg, Baden and Black Forest districts. It was conquered by the Franks in A.D. 495. The Emperor

most of which the imperialists were defeated. The most important engagement was fought near Fussach, when 10,000 of the Swiss allies defeated an equal number of the enemy, killing nearly a fourth of their number.

The seat of war next changed to that portion of Swabia bordering on the Rhine. There an army mainly composed of the troops of Bern, Freyburg, Solothurn and Schaffhausen carried everything before them, and destroyed some twenty towns and castles. Later, the upper part of Alsace was overrun, and many minor engagements were fought. The war, gradually slackening in violence, though not in wanton acts of cruelty, dragged on till September 22nd, 1499, when, on the mediation of the Duke of Milan, peace was agreed to at Basel, and although the Swiss were not expressly declared independent, from this time they formed a distinct State.

By this war Switzerland gained her practical freedom from the German Empire, and moreover became allied to her former adversary and master. It was not, however, till 1648 that her independence was formally acknowledged. Though actual hostilities covered but a short time, this war was terrible in the amount of suffering it caused. More than 20,000 men were killed, 2,000 towns and castles were destroyed, and vast districts were devastated and entirely depopulated. The numbers that perished by famine and disease it is impossible ever to know, but looking back on that

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Conrad I., formed it into a Duchy of the German Empire, in 912, and in 1080, it became hereditary to the House of Hohenstaufen. In 1152, its Duke, Frederick III., became Emperor of Germany, under the title of Frederick I., or Barbarossa.

ghastly page of history little else is seen but torrents of blood, smouldering ruins, wholesale slaughter, and death, misery and desolation in every form.

Admission to League of Basel and Schaffhausen, A.D. 1501.

In 1501 the Swiss Confederation was further strengthened by the admission of Basel and Schaffhausen as the eleventh and twelfth states, upon the same terms as Freyburg and Solothurn, as a means of increasing the League's influence and power in the North.

Foreign Service.

Scarcely were the troubles of the German war over than numbers of the disbanded Swiss troops, stimulated by the high offers of pay, enlisted under the banners of France or of Milan, then at war with each other. The demoralising practice of foreign mercenary service, initiated by the treaty of 1474 with Louis XI., now received a further stimulus from the renewal of the alliance, in 1499, by Louis XII., and soon the dishonourable spectacle of Swiss fighting against Swiss was seen. In 1500 a still more dishonourable result of the system occurred, when the French were enabled to win Novara through the treason of the Swiss garrison of that town in the pay of the Duke of Milan, who preferred to surrender rather than resist their fellow-countrymen in the French ranks. Scandals such as these rapidly became so frequent that in 1503 a determined attempt was made by the Confederate authorities to restrain mercenary service by making it a capital offence for any Swiss to serve in a foreign army. The tempting offers of Louis, however, made this law a dead letter, and large numbers continued to fight under the French flag, and to the Swiss chiefly Louis owed his successes in Lombardy.

Neither were the substantial rewards the Swiss

expected always forthcoming, as the French King was far more prodigal of his promises than of their fulfilment. Having in vain tried to get the money due to them, a great many of Louis' auxiliaries went over to his enemy, the Pope, at the instigation of Schinner, Bishop of Sion. This energetic bishop also succeeded in making an alliance with the Confederates, and marched an army of 8,000 Swiss troops into Lombardy to attempt the expulsion of the French. As, however, most of these mercenary soldiers deserted, no results were obtained.

Expulsion of the French from Italy, A.D. 1513.

The complete expulsion of the French from Northern Italy was due in great measure to the bravery of the Swiss. In the league formed in 1512 against France by Spain, Germany, Venice, and Rome, the Confederation, throwing off its long allegiance, sent 20,000 of its subjects into Lombardy, where they carried all before them, defeated their opponents in several important battles, and re-established Maximilian on the ducal throne. For these services the Duke ceded all his rights over Bellinzona, Lugano, and the bailiwicks that form the modern Canton of Ticino to Switzerland, and gave to the Rhætians his rights over Chiavenna and the Val Tellina.

Though the Swiss were everywhere victorious in Lombardy, Louis continued, by bribes, and still more by handsome promises, to raise levies in Switzerland. By these means he succeeded in obtaining numerous bands of recruits, whose conduct in serving him created many displays of popular indignation throughout the Confederacy, that resulted in the execution or other punishment of the chief French sympathisers.

A plan was now formed for the simultaneous invasion

A.D. 1513.

of France by the armies of England, Germany, Spain and Switzerland (August, 1513). This scheme was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the Swiss generally, and agreed to by the Diet then sitting at Zürich. However, after the Confederates had formulated their plans of attack, and despatched an army of 16,000 men, with orders to march on Dijon, the whole matter fell through, as far as they were concerned. After their many recent victories when attacked by French soldiers, the Swiss army of invasion fell before the attack of French agents loaded with gold and promises. The chiefs were bought off for a large sum, and then withdrew their forces without striking a single blow. *Beaucoup d'argent point de Suisse* might, in this instance at any rate, be substituted for the well-known sarcasm against Swiss cupidity.

Admission of Appenzell, A.D. 1513.

Meanwhile the strength, if not the honour, of the Confederation continued to increase. Besides forming alliances with several important towns, it admitted into its League the Appenzell districts as a separate state, and took possession of Neuchâtel (1513).

In 1514 a second invasion of France by Swiss troops was projected, and the better to arrive at an understanding with England for united action, two ambassadors, Stolz of Basel, and Hurns of Zürich, were despatched to the Court of Henry VIII. They were received with much honour, and returned with a definite plan of an alliance, one of the conditions of which was that Henry should pay the Confederates a large sum as long as the campaign lasted. An English embassy also arrived, headed by Sir Richard Pace,[1]

1 This well-known statesman was private secretary to Henry VIII. before that erratic monarch dismissed him and

which thus, for the first time, brought about official diplomatic relations between England and Switzerland. Though the negotiations were carried on with perfect harmony and apparent promise of success, they lasted too long for the patience of the English King, who concluded a treaty of peace with France (August 2, 1514). In this treaty Henry included, as contracting parties, the thirteen Swiss Cantons.

War with France, A.D. 1515.

With the accession of Francis I. to the throne of France a fresh league to defend Lombardy was formed between Germany, Spain, the Pope and Switzerland (September, 1515). France had already occupied Pavia, Novara and other important centres, when, after several

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took Gardiner in a similar capacity. He is referred to by Shakespeare in his play of Henry VIII. (Act 2, Scene ii.). For the relations between England and Switzerland, from 1515-17, see a paper in the Archives of the Swiss Historical Society, XV. Also "Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII.," Brewer, London, 1862-64. Many instances are quoted by Daguet of relations between England and Switzerland. The British Monks of St. Gallen and Einsiedeln, the contingent of English archers that served under Pierre of Savoy, and the latter's visit, with many Vaudois families, to London. The Welsh soldiers of De Coucy, the English soldiers of Charles the Rash, the numerous English religious refugees who found an asylum at Zürich and Geneva, and who built a church in the latter city; the political refugees of the 17th century; the frequent relations between Cromwell and the Swiss Protestants, through his envoy Peel, and his secretary Milton. After the regicides Ludlow, Lisle, Broughton, Phelps, Gawler and Love sought refuge in Switzerland, figure the envoys Coxe, Herwart and Stanyan; the Pretender Edward Stuart, and the English founders of the Masonic lodge of Geneva and Lausanne (1737-38); Gibbon at the close of the 18th century, and the Methodists and Darbyists in the 19th. Geneva, with its Jameses, Johns and Williams as common Christian names, marks the influence of English inhabitants. On their side, amongst others, the Swiss have given England many illustrious sons—Holbein and Fussli, the great painters, and Planta, of the Royal Academy, the author of the well-known "History of the Helvetic Confederacy."

attempts to negotiate peace, which fell through owing to the French king insisting upon his right to Milan, the great battle of Marignano was fought. Before this mighty "battle of the giants" a treaty had actually been partially ratified by the plenipotentiaries of each party at Galera, on the 8th of September, and 12,000 of the Confederates prepared to return home. They replied to the remonstrances of their countrymen that they were weary of the treachery of the Italians; that the Viceroy of Naples, who commanded an army of allies on the Po, might long since have joined them, but had evidently kept at a distance that the whole burden of the war might fall upon them, and that like a vulture he hovered around them, not to assist in, but to profit by, the slaughter. Many Swiss troops, however, refused to abide by the treaty, and remained undecided. Deserted by their allies who sought to throw the whole of the fighting upon the Confederates, the latter now found themselves in a critical state. Many had already gone back to their homes, and of those that remained the majority were anxious to close the campaign and come to terms with Francis. Their fate was decided by the ever energetic Cardinal Schinner, who so stirred up their worst feelings that they at last determined to continue the war.

There now remained only an army of 20,000 Confederates to defend Lombardy. Some nine miles from Milan the French Monarch, with 50,000 of the best troops of his kingdom, lay strongly entrenched at Marignano. His cavalry was well mounted and armed, his artillery had never yet been equalled in Italy, and the whole army was animated by the presence of the youthful and much esteemed warrior-sovereign, besides that of many of the first generals of the day.

Ever impatient and eager to commence battle when once their course was decided, the Swiss now boldly sallied forth and furiously attacked the strong lines of the French fortifications. These they quickly carried, repulsed a cavalry charge headed by Francis in person, and captured a portion of the artillery and twelve banners. The battle, which had begun late in the afternoon, continued with fearful slaughter till darkness set in. The approach of night, so far from procuring a respite, rather increased the havoc, which amidst the din of arms, exulting shouts, and the cries and groans of the wounded and expiring, raged without intermission till the fourth hour after sunset. Lassitude at length compelled a cessation, both parties, as if by mutual consent, suspending their blows, and seeking to rejoin their standards. They were, however, all intermixed, and many who being challenged could not repeat the countersign still met their doom—(Planta). Each man lay down on the battle-field, and got what rest his ghastly surroundings would allow. The king himself found a resting-place on a gun-carriage, but his courtiers shuddered next morning, when they found that he had slept within fifty yards of a Swiss battalion. *Battle of Marignano, Sept. 13 and 14, 1515.*

With the first dawn the fight recommenced, and, still gaining ground at every point, in spite of the now well-directed fire of the artillery and the furious charges of the cavalry, the Swiss appeared certain of gaining another great victory. At this critical moment Francis' auxiliary forces from Venice, under D'Alviano, arrived and attacked the Confederates in the rear. In spite of this the little band maintained the unequal struggle for some hours longer with undiminished heroism, till at last, overcome by numbers and exhausted by fighting, retreat or annihilation became imperative. Towards

noon the order to retire was given. They gathered in a close column, placed their wounded in its centre, and, having loaded the cannon on their shoulders, marched off the field with slow and steady pace, and with such defiance in their countenances, that none of the surrounding enemy dared to pursue them—(Planta). Passing over the Alps they made their way back to their several cantons.

After this engagement the whole Milanese was taken by Francis, who, in the following year, concluded a treaty of perpetual peace at Freyburg with the Confederation. In this alliance the neutrality of France and Switzerland, in case either should engage in a war, was guaranteed. The Italian bailiwicks ceded by the Duke of Milan to the Swiss and Rhætians were to continue under their rule, and each of the cantons was to receive a pension of 2,000 francs from the French King, who further agreed to pay 700,000 crowns for the expenses of the late war.

Though still sought as mercenary soldiers by other nations, especially by the French, from the time of the battle of Marignano the great reputation of the Swiss as fighting and invincible soldiers began to wane. Neither was this solely due to their defeat on that memorable day. The general introduction of fire-arms now began to lessen the advantages that personal courage and individual strength and endurance gave. The use of gunpowder, defined by a great Frenchman as "the grave of honour," proved for the Swiss the grave of dishonour, in a certain sense.

But with the close of the 15th century begins another, and a very different, era in Swiss history, an era none the less bloodstained and filled with every

form of cruelty and misery. Religion became the force that dominated the course of future events.

The 15th century saw Switzerland rise to the acme of her military fame, and steadily increase in power and freedom. It saw the national character debased and brutalised by the influence of foreigners, in whose quarrels many thousands of her people were embroiled. Lust of martial glory, political power, and dishonourable wealth were the main influences that ruled the course of Swiss affairs during this period, and that brought out some of the greatest deeds in war the world has ever known, as well as some of the basest. These influences were now to be displaced by a great religious revivalism that was destined to change the whole after social and political history of the people, and make its effects felt in many countries far remote from Switzerland.

CHAPTER XI

CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION

The important and enduring changes brought about by the Reformation in the social, religious, and political life of the Swiss people, inaugurate a new and distinct epoch in their history. This epoch, moreover, bears a very direct relation with modern times, and brings us into touch with the thoughts, the wants and the difficulties of the period now to be considered.

In tracing the progress of the great religious movements of the 16th century, as they affected the people of Switzerland, and the causes that brought them on, it will be necessary to go somewhat more fully into details than was done in dealing with previous periods. This is necessary from the grave importance of the subject, and because we are better furnished with data and reliable information to go upon. On the other hand, though our materials are abundant, they are nearly all grossly tainted with party and sectarian bias. Almost without exception, contemporary chroniclers, either purposely or unintentionally, allow their individual or religious opinions to affect their statements in a manner highly prejudicial to the cause of truth. Very great care is therefore necessary in selecting evidence, and a thoroughly judicial and impartial mind

is still more important in forming views on that evidence. These difficulties are further enhanced by the almost constant connection of party passion and untruth with most discussions on religious questions. Fortunately, in the present age time and education have greatly smoothed the obstacles that obstructed the rational examination of the causes and methods of the Reformation, which can now be approached by many in an impartial and passionless frame of mind, with the object, not of furthering the views of any particular Church, but simply and solely to arrive at the truth.

The Reformation was not suddenly created, and launched on the world in the 16th century. The movement was simply the natural result of a long procession of events and changes in men's minds, in religious and political matters, that already for many centuries had been in progress.

Switzerland, from her geographical position, was peculiarly fitted to receive impressions from the religious and intellectual centres of Germany, France, and Italy. The causes that were at work in these countries to bring about the great revolt against Rome were also actively present within her own frontiers. She thus became both an independent and an auxiliary force in the vast army of the Reform. As at all critical periods of impending great changes in the history of mankind, the religious world of Western Europe was at this time in a condition well fitted for the transition. The time was ripe and the leaders were ready. Had neither Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, nor any of the other chiefs been born, there can be little doubt but that the movement would have gone on just as steadily, and

much in the same way. The characteristics, of course, of those who directed it would have somewhat affected the manner in which it progressed, and the form it eventually assumed.

Causes.

Chief amongst the immediate causes of the Reformation was the degraded state into which religion and religious officers had fallen. In the 16th century the Church's condition was one of moral decay and degeneracy, with relaxed discipline and a venal administration, that augured badly for her continued life unless drastic measures were taken to renew her vigour, to restore her influence, and to rid her of her many innate sources of weakness. The holy functions were used chiefly to procure money and personal aggrandisement; bribery and general corruption were, through their frequency, looked upon as legitimate methods; indulgences were bought and sold contrary to ancient law; the grossest immorality and the most vicious living permeated the whole ecclesiastical fabric, and completely discredited the Church's doctrines, and undermined the Church's influence for good among the people, as well as her power to withstand the attacks of her enemies. A large number, if not the vast majority of the clergy, were themselves men of the lowest type, the licentiousness of whose lives was only equalled by their debased ignorance, and lack of the qualities that inspired their early predecessors to accomplish so many triumphs by means of Christianity. Immorality amongst the priesthood bore a character and universality unknown at any subsequent period. But, above all, it stood in the most holy places, which it has not been permitted to do since the Reformation. Many of those seasons appointed by the Church as commemorative of special events, such

as the feast of the resurrection, were, by many of the clergy, converted into times of buffoonery and profanation, altogether heathenish. The very churches were turned into theatres and the priests into mountebanks, who by acts and allusions did their best to provoke laughter and ribaldry. One would imitate a cuckoo, another hissed like a goose, a third dragged to the altar a layman dressed in a monk's garb, a fourth related the grossest indecencies, etc.—(D'Aubigné). The lower orders of the clergy imitated the example of their superiors, and did not scruple frequently to turn them publicly into ridicule. The homes of the priests often harboured women of evil repute, and became the centre of every form of debauchery. In Switzerland the outrageous conduct of the clergy was specially seen at Lausanne, where at last a formal address was sent to the Bishop by the citizens, setting forth their scandalous and open violation of the moral and social laws (1477). In the early part of the 16th century these complaints were again brought forward, coupled with accusations against the Bishop himself, "whose servants beat and killed the citizens in affrays, and the Bishops protected them openly and by force from the hands of justice. And the Canons, who then wore swords by their side like laymen, assaulted the citizens even in their houses and in church, seduced married women and kept them in defiance of the law, violated poor girls whom they enticed to their houses, and had a number of natural children whom they sent out begging"—(Ruchat). Several attempts were made in isolated instances to suppress these clerical scandals, but bore little or no good results, beyond drawing public attention to them. By a decree of the Council of Schaffhausen, the clergy were

forbidden from dancing in public, except at weddings; from carrying two kinds of weapons, and priests found in a house of ill-fame were ordered to be disfrocked—(Müller). In some places it was the custom for a priest to pay a regular tax to his Bishop for the privilege of living with a woman, and according to Erasmus, a German prelate publicly stated that in one year he had received 11,000 applications for this licence. There can be little doubt that most of these evils resulted from the short-sighted innovation in Church discipline that Gregory VII. introduced in forcing celibacy amongst the priests. "This has been the source of most of the calamities, the individual misery and public scandal that have darkened the annals of the Western Church"—(Vieusseux).

Neither was the conduct of the higher ecclesiastics less corrupt than that of their subordinates. Many made their office subservient only to their own temporal aggrandisement, and themselves led their troops in the many wars they carried on against their neighbours to increase their possessions. Passing to the very throne of Rome itself, the successive pontificates of Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Julius II., Leo X., and Clement VII., from 1471 to 1534, form a record of villainy and crime not to be exceeded by any six lay monarchs. A picture of more degraded savagery and practical irreligion than that depicted in the life of the Pope who filled St. Peter's chair a generation before the Reformation can hardly be imagined. If but a tithe of the enormities placed to the account of Alexander VI. (Rodrigo, the father of the notorious Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia) be true, it can scarce be wondered at that the mass of professing Christians throughout Western

Europe in the 16th century had lost all respect and faith in the spiritual heads of their Church.[1]

In Switzerland, even more than in other countries, general corruption permeated the Church. Many instances are recorded of the lengths to which clerical scandals were allowed to go, as of the astounding credulity or indifference of the mass of the inhabitants. In Switzerland the people of all ranks were still much behind their neighbours in education and general civilisation, in fact, outside the towns the peasants were still in many localities in a semi-barbarous condition. One instance that occurred in the City of Bern will serve as an example of what the religious leaders of the people would attempt, to further their individual power.

Jetzel. A.D. 1506.

A bitter rivalry had long existed between the orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans touching the doctrines of the former on the Immaculate Conception. In 1506 the Prior of the Dominican Monastery, at Bern, determined by a bold stroke to revive the waning prestige of his order, and establish beyond dispute the truth of the dogmas his fraternity professed. A poor and credulous peasant, named Johann Jetzel, having been admitted as a lay-brother, the plot commenced. Shortly

1 The memory of this successor of the Apostles, this Vicar of Christ on earth, and that of his illegitimate family, has for four centuries been kept alive chiefly through the long record of murder, incest, adultery, savage wars, and other horrors, that have made the name of Borgia a symbol for all that is most brutal, debauched, and base. On the other hand, among modern scholars of eminence it has been claimed that Alexander VI. and his daughter, Lucretia Borgia, owe nearly the whole of their black notoriety to the political and religious rancour of their opponents, and that both were, for the times in which they lived, certainly much above the average of their contemporaries in honour, humanity and wisdom. No one has yet attempted to rehabilitate the character of Cæsar Borgia.

after this man had taken up his abode in the monastery, he was brought to believe, by repeated and mysterious nightly noises, that he was the chosen object of the Virgin's especial grace. When the mind of Jetzel had by these means been sufficiently excited, he was visited by friars personating lost souls from purgatory and different saints, and finally the prior himself, dressed in imitation of the Mother of God, appeared in the cell of the now frantic tailor, and presented him with three of Christ's tears, a crucifix, and a letter to the Pope commanding him to abolish the Festival of the Immaculate Conception. A powerful sleeping-draught was then administered, and with the aid of corrosives the five wounds of the Saviour were made, similar to those believed to be peculiar to the body of St. Francis. Jetzel was then exhibited in strong convulsions to the wondering crowds who flocked to the monastery to see the favourite of Heaven, whilst the friars increased the excitement by descanting on the marvellous miracle that had been vouchsafed to their order. Unfortunately, however, for the success of this scheme, Jetzel so far recovered his reason as to confess all that had occurred and to throw doubts on the genuineness of the visions. An enquiry was opened by the Pope's legate, and the Bishops of Sion and Lausanne. The unfortunate Jetzel was put to the torture, but refused to alter his statement; and finally a confession was wrung from the monks themselves of all they had done. The four principal actors in this scandalous drama were then handed over to the secular power and publicly burned alive, and the story spreading rapidly all over Europe, brought the order of Dominicans into still greater disgrace and contempt.

The mercenary service so often undertaken by the Swiss in Northern Italy, and at the Papal Court, had brought them into intimate relations with those who directed the policy, and controlled the action of the Church in the very centre of its stronghold. They there witnessed the intrigues and the scandals that everywhere abounded; they saw the most solemn pledges unblushingly broken, and the most sacred offices converted into posts altogether vile and ignoble. On their return to their own land these Swiss mercenaries were, only too often, themselves thoroughly demoralised and debased, and the accounts they were enabled to give of what they had themselves seen and done were hardly calculated to raise the respect or increase the religious fervour of their countrymen for Rome and her dogmas.

Another important cause of the Reformation was the growing spirit of enquiry into the original sources of information in religious matters among scholars. Learning generally also received a great impulse from the revived interest now taken in the classics and in Oriental literature. Men began to seek for themselves the truth, not in taking the word of the Church, but in "searching the Scriptures."[1]

1 Planta gives the following among other examples of the state of learning among the Swiss clergy. On one occasion the Canons of Zürich, having to notify an election to the Bishop of Schaffhausen, confessed that several of themselves were unable to write. In the examination for holy orders it was deemed amply sufficient that the candidate could read, and tolerably comprehend what he read. The report of the examination of Leonard Brun for priest's orders, not long before the Reformation, was, "Benè legit, competenter exponit et sententiat, computum ignorat, malè cantat —Fiat admissio." (He reads well, he expounds and delivers judgment competently, he is ignorant of arithmetic, he sings badly—Let him be admitted.)

Many Church livings in Switzerland were given by the Pope to foreign adventurers, who publicly bought them at Rome, or received them for some special service. Swarms of these men, known as *Courtesans*, came down upon the country, and by their openly licentious mode of life, created hatred against the Church wherever they were appointed. At Geneva, in 1527, of all the numerous canons of that city, only one was native born.

Already, before its introduction into Helvetia, Christianity had begun to change from that simple and noble creed Christ founded and propagated in Palestine, for the benefit of man in this world, and for his hope in the next. Taking the four gospels as the only direct evidence of the actual teachings of Christ, we find Christianity demanded the complete fulfilment of the Mosaic law. It called upon all men for practical repentance, and offered them the salvation of their souls through the mercy of one all-powerful and all-beneficial Creator. It threatened obstinate sinners, the rich, and the worldly, with punishment after death. It enjoined the continual practice of charity in all man's dealings with man. It raised poverty and humility to the rank of cardinal virtues. It insisted on the observance of the great principles involved in Christian Communism, whereby *all* men were to be on an equal footing, having all things (save their wives) in common. The Sermon on the Mount (which, by the way, St. Luke says was preached on a *plain*), sets forth in the clearest language what Christ considered as the right mode of living, and what he deemed essential to salvation. This celebrated discourse bears the additional weight of antiquity, having been in existence long prior to Christ's nativity, every sentence of it being contained in the Jewish

Talmud. Implicit faith in the one God, with repentance, humility, poverty, Christian Communism, the law and the prophets, but above all charity—these are the principles of Christianity as delivered by its great Founder. How, from the time of His death, men altered or forgot them, let the long and blood-stained annals of unchristianity in Switzerland alone, during sixteen centuries, bear witness!

In Switzerland, as in other lands, many pious and enthusiastic men arose, symbolising in their lives all that was noble and best in religion, and vainly trying to revive the primitive doctrines of Christ. But these scattered lights of religious purity were too feeble and too few to dispel the irreligious darkness that lay over the land. As time went on Christianity lost more and more of its original nature, and formed itself more and more after the likeness of its environment and the characters of its chiefs. The introduction of stringent class distinctions; the institution of Bishops, Councils, and high ecclesiastical dignitaries, who usurped power and authority, both spiritual and temporal; the creation by the Church of new Gods and a new Heaven (which she peopled with new saints and intercessors), and a new Hell (which she filled with her enemies); the ordering of new dogmas and new doctrines; the open vices and disgusting licentiousness, profanity and ignorance of the priesthood, their extortions, their sins and their crimes; the open traffic in Church preferment, and in the rewards and punishments of Heaven and Hell—these were some of the chief causes within the Church herself which led men to seek after a higher and a nobler form of worship, and brought to a focus the many series of events that culminated in the Reformation.

"The sufferings and merits of Christ were looked upon as an empty tale. . . . Christ was regarded as a stern judge, prepared to condemn all who should not have resource to the intercession of the Saints, or to the Pope's indulgences. Other intercessors were substituted in his stead, first the Virgin Mary, like the heathen Diana; then the Saints, whose number was continually augmented by the Popes. . . . There were as many pilgrimages as there were mountains, forests and valleys. The people therefore brought to the convents and to the priests money and everything they possessed of value. . . . The Bishops no longer appeared in the pulpits, but they consecrated priests, monks, churches, chapels, images, books and burial-places, and all these brought a large revenue. Bones, arms and feet were preserved in boxes of silver or gold; these were given to the faithful to kiss during mass and this increased the gains. All maintained that the Pope, being in the place of God, could not err, and there were none to contradict them"—(Myconius).[1]

Indulgences.

The flagrant scandals arising from the open traffic in Church preferment, and in indulgences for past and

1 Most of the newly manufactured "ancient relics" were either exposed in the Churches as sources of revenue, or farmed out to ecclesiastical middlemen, who made a goodly profit by the business. Amongst these "sacred" objects that a credulous age flocked to pray before (if not *to*), were the following:—A fragment of Noah's Ark; some soot from the furnace into which Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego were cast; a portion of the crib that held the infant Jesus; some hair of the beard of the great St. Christopher. At Schaffhausen was shown the breath of St. Joseph that Nicodemus received on his glove. In Würtemburg might be seen a seller of indulgences, with his head adorned with a feather from the wing of the Archangel Michael—("History of the Great Reformation").

future sins, acted as one of the most potent of the exciting causes of the Reformation.

In the primitive days of the Church, repentant sinners underwent severe penances before they were cleansed of their misdeeds. Later on, these penalties, in exceptional cases, were mitigated by the "indulgence" of the Bishops, having regard to the bodily weakness, or temporal necessities, of the penitent, sometimes money payments, or works of charity, or devotional exercises being substituted. This custom was sanctioned by the Councils of Nice, Ancyra, and the Fourth of Carthage. Soon, however, abuses crept in, from cupidity, partiality, or the facility with which "indulgences" could be procured. During the 11th and 12th centuries the Popes began to grant "plenary indulgences," or indulgences which remitted not only the *temporal* penalty for sin, but also the punishments of purgatory, which, according to the Romish doctrine, repentant sinners must suffer after death, as a satisfaction to Divine justice. This, in spite of the opinion of Thomas Aquilias, and other learned men, was certainly an innovation in the canons of the Church. At first granted only to those who took part in the Crusades, the practice gradually extended, till at last "indulgences" were regularly sold in most European countries.

The internal strength of the Church was gone, and its lifeless and exhausted frame lay stretched over the Roman world. The infancy of the nations of Europe was past, and manhood had come; to a credulous simplicity, disposed to believe everything, had succeeded a spirit of curiosity, and an intelligence impatient to discover the foundation of things. And

whilst the laity was thus ascending in the scale of knowledge, the priesthood was absorbed in earthly pursuits, and often steeped in the most degrading ignorance, learning being looked upon as the root of heresy. When the sower should appear, the ground, indeed, would be ripe for the seed. Religion had become mechanical in this age of faith, which has also been aptly called the "Age of the Rosary." Although, among both clerics and laymen, outward forms and observances were practised to an extent never before or since known, yet it is impossible to speak too strongly of the universality of practical impiety.

Whilst Germany is the fundamental home of the Reformation, the centre whence other nations derived their instruction,[1] Switzerland occupies the exceptional position of having herself originated and carried through her own Reformation. This she did at the same period, though quite independently of her powerful Northern neighbours. When the movement was well advanced, but not before, doubtless the influence and writings of Luther helped to assist it. Many interesting points of contrast are apparent between the German and Swiss Reformation. In the one country, it had to contend against the authority of an Emperor and powerful princes, and was led and moulded by one man — Martin Luther — and took many years before it was accomplished. In Switzerland, the home of democratic principles, the opposition came from as-

1 This must be understood only in a certain sense as representing that Germany was the home of the "fashioning and finishing" of the Reformation. Through Wickliff, and others, England certainly *originated* the movement, and gave it to Germany "in the rough," as it were, as she also gave her her music, her literature, her learning and her poetry.

semblies of the people ; the movement began in several different centres, as at Basel, Glarus, Zürich, Bern, Geneva, Schwyx. It was led by a "confederation of reformers," Zwingli, Farel, Capito, Heller, Calvin, etc., though, doubtless, Zwingli, Farel and Calvin were the chief. And the victory was gained in but a few months, though many generations were born and died before its after-train of war and strife ceased. In Germany the movement, like the face of the land, presents one uniform level of character ; "but in Switzerland the Reformation appears broken, like the country itself. Every valley has its own hour of awakening, and every mountain-top its own radiance."

The Swiss had already thrown off the yoke of dependence on Austria and on Germany, and had obtained political freedom. A large portion of them now entered on a struggle for religious freedom against the spiritual supremacy of Rome. In this contest, many of the hardy inhabitants of the mountain districts, where great simplicity still existed, and where the priests were less affected by the general moral deterioration of their order, remained the staunchest defenders of the Pope, and the stoutest foes of the Reformers. In the Waldstätten, the birthplace of Swiss liberty and Swiss valour, the people disdained to learn new things from the younger states of the Confederation, and preferred to remain in the faith in which they had obtained their own independence, and in which they had freed their country from her many powerful invaders.

The record of the lives of the Swiss Reformers constitutes the history of Switzerland during the greater part of the 16th century. But, before commencing

this, it may not be amiss to contemplate for a moment another, and a brighter, chapter in the career of that Rome, against which war to the death was now to be waged.

"In this Rome, a man clad in the purple of the Cæsars, and crowned with the tiara of the Pontificate, sent forth his soldiers armed with the crucifix, and they brought nations captive to his feet. Rome became a city of God; she put on a spiritual crown. She cried to the kings, 'Give!' and gold was poured into her exchequers; she condemned a man who had defied her, and he had no longer a place among mankind; she proclaimed a truce of God, and the swords of robber knights were sheathed; she preached a crusade, and Europe was hurled into Asia. She lowered the pride of the haughty, and she exalted the heart of the poor; she softened the rage of the mighty, she consoled the despair of the oppressed. She fed the hungry, and she clothed the naked; she took children to her arms, and signed them with the cross; she administered the sacrament to dying lips, and laid the cold body in the peaceful grave. Her first word was to welcome, and her last word to forgive. In the Dark Ages, the European states were almost entirely severed from one another; it was the Roman Church alone which gave them one sentiment in common, and which united them within her fold. In those days of violence and confusion, in those days of desolation and despair, when a stranger was a thing which, like a leper or a madman, anyone might kill; when every gentleman was a highway robber, when the only kind of lawsuit was a duel, hundreds of men, dressed in gowns of coarse, dark stuff, with cords around their waists,

and with bare feet, travelled with impunity from castle to castle, preaching a doctrine of peace and goodwill, holding up an emblem of humility and sorrow, receiving confessions, pronouncing penance or absolution, soothing the agonies of a wounded conscience, awakening terror in the hardened mind. Parish churches were built, the baron and his vassals chanted together the 'Kyrie Eleison,' and bowed their heads together when the bell sounded and the Host was raised. Here and there in the sombre forest, a band of those holy men encamped, and cut down trees and erected a building, which was not only a house of prayer, but also a kind of model farm. . . . Bright indeed, yet scanty, are these gleams. In the long night of the Dark Ages we look upon the earth, and only the convent and the castle appear to be alive. . . . The castle is the home of music, and chivalry, and family affection. The convent is the home of religion and of art. . . . The convent prays, and the castle sings; the cottage hungers, and groans, and dies. Such is the dark night—here and there a star in the heaven; here and there a torch upon the earth; all else is cloud and bitter wind." Such is the vivid picture of what Rome, in the cause of religion, has done in the past to better and beautify humanity, drawn by the great author of the "Martyrdom of Man," himself one of the noblest of modern Freethinkers, and one of Rome's bitterest opponents. How different this picture had become in the beginning of the 16th century we have already seen, when religion was too often little else than a cloak for every form of sin and crime, when the convent was often but a social sewer, and the castle a stronghold for lawless robbers.

CHAPTER XII

THE REFORMATION AND ITS LEADERS

It has already been pointed out that the revolt against the supremacy of the Church of Rome had been long maturing, and that the final victories obtained in the 16th century were merely the crowning result of changes before that period. The progress of the Swiss Reformation can best be understood by following the careers of its leaders, amongst whom Ulric Zwingli stands pre-eminent.

Ulric Zwingli, A.D. 1484-1531

Descended from a long line of hardy and patriotic peasant farmers living in the Toggenburg mountains, Zwingli was born in the little hamlet of Wildhausen, high above the Lake of Zürich, on January 1st, 1484, just seven weeks later than the great German reformer. His early years were passed under the care of his uncle, the Dean of Wesen, and at the age of ten he was sent to Basel, which city was then one of the first seats of European learning. Here he assiduously devoted himself to study, and, moreover, began to develop those musical talents that proved a solace to him all through his remarkable career. In 1497, he was transferred to Bern, where, under the care of the distinguished scholar and poet, Lupulus, he was introduced to the then hidden treasures of classical learning. Through these his mind was expanded, and his style formed, and his poetical taste developed

A.D. 1497.

—(Myconius). From Bern, Zwingli journeyed to Vienna to study philosophy at the University. Returning to his native village in 1502 for a short rest, he once more settled at Basel, where he supported himself by teaching, though continuing his own studies at the University. Here he obtained his degree of M.A., and here he formed a close friendship with two Alsatians—Leo Juda and Capito, both of whom took prominent parts in the work Zwingli devoted his later life to. These three friends here received their first impulse in the Evangelical cause through attending the eloquent lectures of Thomas Wyttembach, of Bienne. Wyttembach occupied the University chair of Theology, and was then establishing a great reputation for learning, but still more for the liberal spirit with which he disentangled himself from the orthodox teachings of the Church. The bent of Wyttembach's mind may be gathered from a quotation from one of his discourses:—"The time is not far distant," he exclaimed, "when scholastic theology will be abolished, and the primitive teachings of the Church restored. The death of Christ is the only ransom of our souls." A.D. 1502.

The preaching of such doctrines as these openly from the chair of Theology, and the finding of eager listeners, were important signs of the times.

In 1506 Zwingli was ordained at Constanz, and shortly afterwards he was chosen by a popular vote as the parish priest of Glarus, in opposition to a nominee despatched from Rome. This stranger, one of the numerous class of *Courtesans* already referred to, whom the people refused to receive in spite of the Pope's licence, already possessed several benefices, *Zwingli at Glarus,* A.D. 1506.

and had further fitted himself for his holy calling by occupying the position at Rome of groom of the Pope's palfrey.

In Glarus, Zwingli developed very decided opinions on the subject of Swiss mercenary service, and these views he strongly enunciated all through his life. Many of his parishioners were the descendants of the great martial heroes of Switzerland, and only too eagerly seized every opportunity to emulate the deeds of their ancestors, for high pay under the banner of foreign princes, in quarrels that in no way affected their country. This too often led to Swiss fighting against Swiss, and Zwingli saw with sorrow the frequent spectacle of the mountaineers returning to their homes no longer simple-minded and honest peasants, but hardened desperadoes and worthless rascals, learned in all the vices of their employers. Believing the system would lead to the ruin of the manhood of his country, he addressed forcible appeals to the Confederates to prohibit foreign enlistment. But the authorities were powerless against the evil, and many of them were themselves in foreign pay. Later, he embodied his views in a poem he called the "Labyrinth," which forcibly depicted the results of the system, and obtained great celebrity. In 1512 Zwingli obtained still further and more personal knowledge of this subject when, as military chaplain, his duty compelled him to accompany the Glarus contingent raised by the Pope to expel the French from North Italy. For their brilliant services in this campaign the Pope conferred the title of "The Defenders of the Liberty of the Church" upon the Swiss, a title many of them were destined to earn in a way very different from that intended by the Pontiff.

Zwingli in Italy, A.D. 1512.

Three years later, Zwingli again went in the same capacity to Italy. He there energetically tried to dissuade his countrymen from pursuing the course that eventually ended in the terrible disaster of Marignano, where thousands of the Swiss were slain by the French and their Venetian allies. Zwingli showed so much zeal in the service of the Pope during his Italian campaigns, and took so prominent a part trying to benefit the spiritual condition of his countrymen, that the Pontiff signalised his regard for him by appointing him a Court chaplain, the substantial annual stipend attached to which office doubtless being much appreciated by the future leader of the Reformation, whose income was both small and precarious. On his return with the survivors of this battle, Zwingli commenced the serious study of Greek, "in order," as he said, "to draw from the true source the true doctrines of Christ." That these studies bore abundant fruit is shown when he was asked at a later period whether he was a disciple of the German Reformer. "I am no Lutheran," he replied, "for I understood Greek before I had heard the name of Luther." From the time he obtained a mastery of this language, he appeared to have based his religious beliefs solely on the authority of the Gospels, to the exclusion of the traditions and dogmas of the Church.

A.D. 1515.

An important event for the cause of the Reformation occurred in 1516, when, in consequence of his reputation for eloquence, Zwingli was appointed preacher to the Abbey of Einsiedeln. At this time Einsiedeln had acquired great celebrity in consequence of the peculiar sanctity it was believed to possess. It was credited with having received visits from both

Zwingli at Einsiedeln, A.D. 1516.

Christ and the Virgin Mary, which visits were endorsed by a special Bull of Pope Leo VIII. Crowds of pilgrims from all countries flocked to the Abbey, and soon the fame of Einsiedeln equalled that enjoyed at other times by Delphi, Ephesus and Loretto.

Here, in the very home and centre of the superstitious life of Switzerland, Zwingli began his career as a Reformer. Taking the beliefs that brought fame and riches to the Abbey in which he preached, he boldly commenced a crusade against the abuse of votive offerings, pilgrimages, the sale of indulgences, and the other outward signs of religion. He even attacked the sanctity of Einsiedeln and other churches. "Think not," he said to the multitude that crowded round his pulpit, "that God is in the temple more than in any other place in creation. Wherever He has fixed your dwelling He is with you, and hears you as much as at Our Lady of Einsiedeln. What power can there be in unprofitable works, weary pilgrimages, offerings, prayers to the Virgin and the Saints, to secure you the favour of God? What efficacy in the cowl or shaven head, or priestly garments falling and adorned with gold? God looks upon the heart, and our hearts are far from God." Taking the Bible as his sole guide, he proceeded as time went on to preach against the errors and superstitions of the Church, and that with such eloquence and fervour that thousands gathered from all parts to hear him. These discourses, of course, aroused the Abbey authorities, but being chosen already by them they were unable to dismiss him.

Soon Zwingli's doctrines, disseminated by those who heard him, began to attract attention in many districts far remote from Einsiedeln, and the old Swiss

spirit of independence began to assert itself against the fetters of the old faith. Like Luther's visit to Rome, it was within the citadel of error that Zwingli's education was completed. And now the long-threatened revolt against the Papacy was to be focussed and brought about by one of Rome's many flagrantly scandalous methods of extorting money.

Whilst Zwingli was still at Einsiedeln, the notorious sale of indulgences that had already exercised such an influence against the orthodox Church, spread in an aggravated form into Switzerland.

The occupant of the Papal throne at this period was Leo X., who resorted to the expedient of raising sufficient money to enable him to complete the building of St. Peter's at Rome, by sending his emissaries among the faithful to sell indulgences.

Friar Samson, A.D. 1519.

For this work, Bernadin Samson, a friar of the order of the Franciscans at Milan, was selected to visit the districts of Switzerland. Armed with his red cross, his banners, and with large quantities of "parchment pardons," Samson crossed the St. Gothard, and began his traffic in Uri. Here, from the poverty of the people, he made little profit, and accordingly went to the wealthier Canton of Schwyx. In his eagerness to collect money, Samson greatly exaggerated the virtues of his wares; and did not scruple to tell the simple, but by no means sinless, Swiss peasants that his indulgences would remit the guilt as well as the penalty of sins, and, moreover, not only applied to sins *past*, but also to those that might at some future time be committed. By these means the trade went briskly on in Zug, Unterwalden, Bern and Luzern. In Schwyx Samson was unable to do much business, as, through Zwingli's preaching, he

was obliged to quit the state shortly after he entered it. A like fate befel him at Bremgarten, where an enthusiastic advocate for reform, Bullinger, had already arisen and excited public opinion against the scandal. Samson also received a hostile reception at Baden and Lenzburg, and so extravagant did his pretensions become, that he was forbidden to trade within the diocese of Constanz by the Bishop, himself an ardent supporter of the Pope.

Zwingli in Zürich, A.D. 1519.

Meanwhile Zwingli had been persuaded to relinquish his position at Einsiedeln (where he remained two years, and where he was succeeded by his friend and fellow-worker Leo Juda), to accept the still more important post of preacher at the Grossmünster at Zürich. At this time Zürich was the chief political centre of Switzerland, and here Zwingli boldly attacked the indulgences and other scandals of the Church, and advocated his religious and political ideas. Chief among these latter were his efforts to wean the Confederates from their foreign alliances, which led to the enlistment and slaughter of so many thousands of the Swiss in foreign wars.

The only canton that supported Zwingli's policy, and that only for a brief time, was that of Schwyx, which issued an order against foreign service. In Zürich itself, though his impassioned eloquence aroused the people, it was unable to induce the Government to give him more than a half-hearted support. In spite, moreover, of the support of Schwyx, it was this very state that all through the troubles of the post Reformation period remained the most persistent in its attachment to Rome, and showed the strongest hostility against the New Faith.

The question of enforced celibacy of the priesthood

had long divided opinion in the Church, even after it had been made a dogma. The evils of this system have already been glanced at. The leaders of the Reform were nearly all agreed against it, and either in 1523 or 1524, Zwingli practically demonstrated his own views by marrying Anne Reinhardt, the widow of a former Burgomaster of Zürich. He further emphasised his views and declared his independence by resigning the office the Pope had bestowed on him.

Friar Samson

After making a very lucrative tour of the other Swiss districts, Friar Samson came to offer his goods for sale in Zürich. Here he found his old enemy Zwingli, who had previously proved so sharp a thorn in his flesh at Einsiedeln. The Reformer's influence with the citizens was now paramount, and in spite of bribes and threats, Samson was forced to depart without increasing his business profits. Shortly after he returned to Rome, taking with him, according to the chronicles of Stettler, no less than 800,000 crowns collected from the credulous Swiss.

An instance of the methods this ecclesiastical pedlar resorted to to stir up the purchasing ardour of his customers occurred at Bern. Towards the close of his visit to this city Samson addressed a great multitude of the faithful in the Cathedral Church, and concluded his harangue by exclaiming, "I deliver from the torments of purgatory and hell the souls of all the people of Bern who have departed this life, whatever may have been the manner or the place of their death." Contemporary history is filled with similar examples of the methods, of a far more monstrous nature, of this fanatical friar, but does not show one bright spot or honest act in his whole career whilst in

Switzerland. Like many a modern character, religious and lay, he owed his temporary success solely to the strength of his lungs, the audacious impudence of his statements, and the gross credulity of his hearers. Scarcely, however, had Samson (and his money) left the Confederation than the people realised the fraud he had so profitably perpetrated at their expense. In almost every centre indignant meetings were held, and earnest and eloquent Reform leaders springing up everywhere, the movement was fairly launched.

Swingli's Teachings.

Zwingli's whole conception of Christianity now rested upon the authority of the Bible alone. He accordingly rejected the spiritual and temporal power of the Pope and the Church in matters of dogma and doctrine, the invocation of Saints and the Virgin, fasts, penance and pilgrimages, compulsory celibacy of the clergy, the performance of the services of the Church in a strange tongue, the mass, perpetual vows and purgatory. This, indeed, was a change for one brought up strictly according to the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic preparation and practice of the priesthood.

These views were also those of the other Swiss reformers. Amongst the most important workers in other centres were *Haller* at Bern, *Myconius* (Geishausen) at Luzern, *Bullinger* at Bremgarten, *Wyttembach* at Basel, *Glareanus* (Lovil) at Glarus, and *Œcolampadus* (which Greek equivalent Erasmus had bestowed in lieu of his original name of Hauschein).

The general attack against Rome carried on from so many European centres, but especially from the Reformed Party headed by Luther in Germany, had prevented the Pope till now from giving much attention

to the smaller theatre of the movement in Switzerland. When, however, he was forced by its rapid progress to take measures for its suppression, he brought threats of excommunication and other coercive weapons to bear against the Reformers. Against Zwingli himself he long adopted the opposite expedients of flattery and offers of preferment to bring him back to the fold, and only when he found these were certain to fail did his attitude change, and thenceforth there was open and declared war on both sides.

Though the new doctrines were rapidly spreading all A.D. 1522. over Switzerland, the great majority of the Confederate deputies and authorities still remained faithful to the old. In 1522 these determined to attempt to check forcibly the further flow of the new ideas. Accordingly a resolution was introduced at the Diet, then sitting at Luzern, forbidding the clergy to preach unauthorised doctrines. After much discussion, the tone of which clearly foretold the terrible struggle to come, this was passed, as was also a decree condemning the ideas of the Reformers as irreligious and harmful to the peace of the country. This was evidently the first note of war, and required the condemned party to make preparations for defence. In order the better to do so, Zwingli and a company of priests holding his views retired to the quiet of Einsiedeln, to deliberate upon their plan of action. Here they formulated an appeal to the Confederation to revoke the edict of Luzern, and also to permit the marriage of priests. Their petition was not only promptly rejected, but an order was issued to arrest its authors, an order that was not carried out.

In the same year Zwingli published his famous defence, "Apologeticus Architeles," in answer to the

accusations the Bishop of Constanz (in whose diocese he was) and others were hurling against him. Copies of the pamphlet circulated all over Switzerland, and greatly helped to recruit the ranks of the Evangelicals, as the Reformed Party now began to be called.[1]

A.D. 1523. In January of the following year a very important congress met at Zürich. At this meeting the chief magistrates of the city, the leading Evangelicals, and some 600 clerical and lay preachers were present. After fully, and on the whole, harmoniously, discussing the situation, and chiefly through the eloquence, moderation, and persuasion of Zwingli, the Government of Zürich issued an order, permitting the marriage of priests within its territories, and forbidding the clergy to preach any doctrine that could not be supported by the authority of the Scriptures.

By this official act Zürich formally went over to the side of the Reformation, which was now for the first time fairly launched, and of which she continued to remain the chief and most powerful champion.

Towards the close of the year a spirit of fanatical Puritanism—the natural rebound after the long period of licence and irreligion—began to show itself in Zürich. Zwingli had said that graven images were contrary to the law given by God himself, and quoted the Second

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1 Before adopting the name Evangelicals, the Reformed Party was known as Zwinglians. The members were also called Sacramentarians. The name Protestant is applied to the Reformed German Churches, but the same can also, in a historical sense, be given to the Swiss ones, as although the latter did not take part in the "protest" to the Diet of Spires in April, 1529, yet several of the German towns, as also the Landgrave of Hesse, holding the views of Zwingli, were amongst the members who joined the Lutherans in that celebrated "protest."

Commandment in proof of his statement. Acting upon this the more impetuous of his adherents commenced a crusade against all sacred images, and committed many wanton acts of vandalism in the churches, destroying all they could lay their hands upon, which soon led to the total destruction or removal of every image, organ, or work of art from all the Zürich churches.

These summary acts aroused a feeling of intense indignation in those cantons where Roman Catholicism commanded the majority, and as they still ruled the Councils of the Diets, severe measures of reprisal were determined upon. Evangelical preaching was accordingly once more formally condemned, a general confiscation of all Zwingli's and Luther's writings ordered, the leaders of the Reformation were denounced as promoters of anarchy, and a warrant issued for the arrest of Zwingli himself. Indeed, so great was this outburst of orthodoxy all over Switzerland, that Zürich and Schaffhausen appeared the only states supporting the Reformation, all the others having declared against it in the General Diet.

Undaunted by the now threatening state of the country, Zürich took another, and a still more important step forwards in the direction of religious reform. This was done by the complete secularisation of all convents, monasteries and Church property within her jurisdiction, converting them into schools and hospitals for the citizens. This daring act was effected with the consent, and even support, of the clergy and nuns interested, to whom pensions were granted, and all gifts of money, ornaments, and other pious offerings were allowed to return to the original donors or their heirs.

The large funds the Government acquired by these means appear to have been wisely and economically managed. The Catholic doctrines and forms of worship were then proscribed (May), and in the following year Zwingli, by order of the authorities, reformed the educational system of the state, appointed professors of classical languages at the University, and founded an academy of theology.

Assailed as it was by the bitterest hostility on every side, the Reformation had now to grapple with the assaults of one of the many irregular bands that composed her own army. Driven from Germany, the fanatical sect of the Anabaptists settled in several of the Swiss towns, notably in Zürich and St. Gallen, where they made hosts of converts. Their anarchical and impracticable ideas at first spread among the poorest classes with the rapidity of a social plague, causing the greatest terror and disorder throughout the territories they invaded. Soon, however, the common-sense of the Swiss majority was aroused, and, after many endeavours on the part of Zürich and others to bring about peace, stringent measures were adopted to stamp out the disease, and imprisonment, fines and executions followed. Attacked on the one side by the Reformers, and on the other by the Catholics (who classed all Dissenters as equally heretical), the sect was reduced to order and submission. This result was not accomplished till an almost national state of anarchy had arisen, and till a large amount of property had been destroyed and much blood shed.[1]

Anabaptists.

1 The Anabaptists made their first appearance in Germany soon after the Reformation, of which movement their sect was an outcome. Their first leaders, or apostles, were Munzer, Stubner

At this period Basel, from its wealth and learning and the lustre it derived from being the residence of Erasmus, the foremost scholar of his day, was rapidly becoming the most important city in Switzerland. Here the majority was opposed to the Evangelicals, though the eloquent preaching of Œcolampadus and others had done much to draw the people from the Catholic communion. In Basel, moreover, the writings of Erasmus, who lived long in the city, did much to aid the cause of religious reform, though latterly the coarse methods and fanaticism of the Protestants disgusted the finer instincts of Erasmus, and made him, if not an enemy, at any rate, a neutral in the contest. Of the rural cantons, Schwyx took the lead as a centre of *Basel.*

and Storck, all of whom were disciples of Luther before they commenced their career of fantastic fanaticism. Beginning to preach their peculiar doctrines in Wyttemberg in 1521, they soon attracted immense numbers of followers, who, four years later, rose in rebellion against the authorities in Saxony, Swabia and other districts. The rising was suppressed, and Munzer executed. In 1532 the movement, supported exclusively by the poorest sections of society, broke out again, and an immense mob of Anabaptists, under the leadership of a baker, named Matthias, attacked and actually captured Münster. Matthias was proclaimed King of the city, which he re-named Mount Zion, and every form of excess followed. Having, however, madly undertaken, with only thirty followers, to repel an attack made by some troops, who attempted to re-capture the city, Matthias and all with him were slain. A tailor of Leyden, named Johann Boccoldt, was next elected to the royal dignity, and under his rule the anarchical excesses of his subjects became even more outrageous. The new monarch enforced a liberal polygamy, and himself set an example by taking fourteen wives. In 1535 the city was captured by the Bishop's soldiers, and most of the Anabaptists executed with the most fiendish tortures. The doctrines, if such they may be termed, held by this sect embraced a species of primitive Christianity, with adult baptism, community of goods, special inspirations from God, and complete freedom from man-made laws.

militant Romanism, and here, moreover, the general body of the priests showed in their mode of living, a marked absence of those demoralising propensities that in other districts characterised their fellows. In Glarus, Thurgau and the Graubünden the Reformation made marked and rapid progress.

Actual hostilities between the two divisions into which Switzerland was now split up appeared inevitable. But before the storm broke another effort was made to preserve peace. For this purpose a general congress was called of representatives of all the cantons to meet
A.D. 1526. at Baden in Aargau during this year (1526) to discuss publicly the Evangelical doctrines. Though a safe-conduct had been offered to Zwingli with an invitation to attend, the Zürich Council forbade his going, possibly remembering the fate of another Reformer, Johann Huss, who lost his life from relying on the value of a similar document. In his place Œcolampadus and Haller championed the Reformers' cause.[1] After many days of wordy warfare, a vote was taken on the matters under discussion, when the Catholics, being greatly in the majority, carried all before them. Zwingli and his co-religionists were condemned to excommunication as heretics, and their doctrines were pronounced false and harmful to the country. Against this verdict the representatives of Bern, Basel, Glarus, Schaffhausen and Zürich entered an unavailing protest. Many arrests,

1 The notorious Dr. Eck and Faber of Constanz were the chief exponents of the Catholic views at this Congress. Eck's manner of arguing is thus depicted in a contemporary poem:

"Eck stamps his feet, and claps his hands,
He raves, he swears, he scolds;
'I do,' cries he, 'what Rome commands,
And teach whate'er she holds.'"

much persecution, and several executions followed as a result of this meeting.

Meanwhile the powerful state of Bern was rapidly becoming leavened with the new views on religious matters. Two years after the Congress of Baden, the Bern Council assembled another congress, to which they invited the Bishops (none of whom attended), the chief exponents of the old and of the new doctrines, Zwingli, and the representatives of the cantons. Before the discussion commenced, the Council laid down as a preliminary rule, "that no argument should be admitted which was not based on a text of Scriptures." This rule, of course, greatly handicapped the champions of Roman Catholicism. After sitting for nineteen days, the Congress published the result of its labours in a series of ten propositions. These propositions declared that all true religion is grounded *exclusively* upon the doctrines contained in the Bible; Christ is the sole Saviour and only Mediator with God; no Scriptural authority exists for the dogma of the real presence in the Eucharist nor for those concerning the mass, purgatory, images, or enforced celibacy of priests. They further set forth the perniciousness of immorality, especially in the clergy. The Bernese authorities then issued an edict abrogating the jurisdiction of the four Diocesan Bishops (Constanz, Lausanne, Basel and Sion) over their territories and establishing the secular authority above that of the Church. As a result, the clergy were required in future to take an oath of allegiance to the Council. This change in the public religious belief of Bern was second only in importance to that of Zürich. A similar change shortly after took place in Appenzell, Basel, Constanz, Solothurn,

Bern.

St. Gallen and Mühlhausen, which towns then formed a union with Zürich in favour of religious liberty (*Christliches Burgrecht*). Whilst the movement was thus extending in the German portion of the Confederation, a similar change was steadily going on in the French divisions, but as this was distinct, as well as of itself highly important, its consideration will be reserved for the next chapter.

Conference of Marburg, A.D. 1529.

As many minor points of difference had long existed between the German and the Swiss Reformers which acted detrimentally to both movements, a Conference was called in 1529 at Marburg, to try if possible to arrive at an agreement. At this meeting, Luther, Zwingli, Melanchon, Œcolampadus, and several other well known leaders were present. Fourteen articles of their common faith were drawn up, but over the subject of the Eucharist it was found impossible to come to a mutual belief, a subject that has ever remained the great dividing question between Lutheran and Swiss Protestants.

Catholic Union, A.D. 1529.

To counteract the alliance formed between Zürich and the other Evangelical states, the Catholic Cantons of Uri, Schwyx, Unterwalden, Luzern and Zug, formed an union amongst themselves (*Christliche Vereinigung*), and further made an offensive and defensive alliance with Austria. Every effort was used to induce the Swiss Catholics to relinquish their Austrian alliance, but without result, and nothing but war now appeared capable of ending the religious and political differences of the Confederates.

Impending Civil War, A.D. 1534.

Religious fury dulled all sense of justice or moderation on both sides, and Protestants and Catholics alike eagerly demanded the arbitrament of the sword.

Without consulting her allies, Zürich suddenly declared war and marched a force to Kappel. Bloodshed was, however, happily averted by the prompt intervention of the neutral states, and peace patched up. By the terms of this peace the Austrian alliance was annulled, and religious freedom granted to every separate state (June 26th, 1534).

Zürich. During the next two years, the intemperate zeal and overbearing spirit of Zürich led her to proscribe the Catholic faith in St. Gallen, an act she quickly followed by the suppression of the monastery. Both these arbitrary measures were done against the advice of Bern, and in open violation of the rights of Luzern, Glarus and Schwyx, the co-protectors with her of the monastery.

The Catholics on their part made many arrests in the neutral territories of the Common Bailiwicks, and throughout the Confederation religious bigotry and hatred caused persecution and risings to threaten a general state of anarchy.[1]

A.D. 1531. The first step towards war was taken by Zürich. At a general Diet held at Baden in 1531, the Government assumed a high tone, and demanded that the Catholics should permit the reading of the Scriptures in the tongue of the people in their districts. At this Diet the Protestant Cantons created further discord by objecting to the majority of votes taken over

1 Two special instances of the barbarous fanaticism of the times nearly brought on war sooner than it really occurred. A Catholic official from the Thurgau was found in the streets of Zürich. He was at once seized, thrown into prison, and shortly afterwards executed (May 5th, 1528). A few weeks later, the Catholics, in revenge, arrested a Protestant pastor in Schwyx, and burnt him alive.

religious matters in the Diets being a conclusive test, "for the Catholic Cantons, being many and small, were always sure of a majority against the Evangelical ones, which, though few, were large."

Zürich, after this meeting, in order to coerce the Catholic Cantons, refused to hold any commercial relations with them—even refusing to supply them with necessary articles such as salt, which the Waldstätten were accustomed to buy from her merchants.

Civil War, A.D. 1531.

At last, in October, 1531, the chiefs of Zug, Uri, Unterwalden and Schwyx assembled at Brunnen and declared war against Zürich and Bern.

This declaration found Zürich totally unprepared. Only a few hundreds of the local militia could be brought together; but in spite of this, and of Bern leaving her ally to defend herself unaided, she pluckily determined to fight as best she could. On their side the Catholics, supported by help from Italy and Savoy, were able to gather an army of some 8,000 men. Zwingli, in order to inspire confidence, accompanied the little band of Zürich troops, against the remonstrances of his friends and the advice of the authorities. Once more the two sides met at Kappel, and this time fought the issue to the end. Before the battle, the Protestants were joined by a hurriedly collected band of 1,200 men from the neighbouring districts, but even with these they could only muster about 1,800 soldiers. The battle opened at mid-day on October 11th with a heavy cannonade, which was kept up for three hours, when a reinforcement of 2,000 men arrived from Zürich. Before these could recover from the fatigues and disorder of their hurried march, a general attack was made by the

Battle of Kappel, Oct. 11, 1531.

Catholics. For a long time the Zürichers held their own, and fighting with all the heroism of the ancient times of their fighting fame, kept their opponents back. But at last inferiority of numbers and fatigue decided the issue. The Catholics made another and a more furious charge, carried all before them, and a general rout followed. Little quarter was given, and none to the wounded who refused to abjure their faith. The losses of Zürich on that fatal day amounted to about 1,300, amongst whom were fifteen clergymen and twenty-six councillors, but most important of all, the great leader of the Reform himself. The wounded Zwingli was found after the battle among a heap of dead and dying by some Catholics who, not recognising him, asked if they should fetch him a priest to receive his confession and perform the last rites of the Church. On Zwingli refusing, one of the soldiers ran him through the body with his spear and killed him outright. Next day a court-martial was held on the corpse, which was ordered to be quartered by the common executioner, to be afterwards publicly burnt, and the ashes, mixed with refuse, to be thrown to the winds. At Kappel, Zwingli's wife lost her husband, her son, and her brother, her brother-in-law, and her son-in-law. Thus perished in his forty-eighth year the great Reformer of Switzerland, a man who, in spite of the position his talents had raised him to, and the bitter jealousies and angry passions around him, maintained his single-hearted piety, his disinterestedness, his honesty, and his honour, unharmed and unchanged till the moment he met his death in the discharge of his duty.

Death of Zwingli.

A few days after this decisive defeat, another force from Zürich, aided by a contingent from Bern, met with a similar reverse in the neighbourhood of Zug, a result in great measure due to the desertion of the Bernese troops at the critical moment of the battle. Their disasters, coupled with the conduct of Bern and the loss of Zwingli, so depressed the people of Zürich that they were only too willing to sign terms of peace in the following month (November 30th, 1531). This second treaty not only conferred religious liberty upon every state, but also upon every district. Coupled with these terms was added a stipulation forbidding any canton from forcing its religion upon any other part of the country.

Peace, Nov. 30, 1531.

The main result of this treaty was the separation of Switzerland into two great religious divisions, Protestant and Catholic. The former, which included Zürich, Bern, Schaffhausen, Basel, half of Appenzell, and a portion of the Graubünden, selected Aarau as its chief centre. The Catholics, who numbered Zug, Luzern, Schwyx, Uri, Unterwalden, Freyburg, Solothurn, half of Appenzell, a part of the Graubünden, and St. Gallen, took Luzern as their capital. This division gave the Catholic party 17 out of the total of 27 votes comprising the general Confederate Diet.

Henry Bullinger.

After Zwingli's death, Henry Bullinger, a young, but able and eloquent divine, a man possessing great tact and moderation, was appointed in his place, and soon restored the Evangelicals to confidence and calm. His chief efforts were directed to bring about union in the Evangelical camp, now split up into numerous factions. In order the better to do this he called together a synod of the chief Protestant leaders. This important

meeting took place at Basel, in 1534, and resulted in the formal drawing up of a series of resolutions embodying the chief tenets held by the Swiss Protestants. It was called the "Helvetic Confession of Faith," and was essentially the same as the belief held by the Kirks of Scotland, the French Reformed Church, and the greater number of the Churches of Holland.

Helvetic Confession of Faith, A.D. 1534.

"Every confession of faith partakes of the character of the age in which it is written, but that of Bullinger may be said to be better than its age. It was neither the offspring of polemical disputation nor the cold calculating work of an assembly of theologians; it was the effusion of a pious mind, animated by a wish for peace. It was the work of a man who, when he wrote it, thought himself on the brink of the grave, and it partook of the solemnity of that last period of existence. There was no mention of anathema in it"—(Vulliemin).

CHAPTER XIII

THE REFORMATION IN THE FRENCH-SPEAKING DIVISIONS OF SWITZERLAND

A.D. 1524-1605.

THE birth and progress of the Reformation in the German districts of Switzerland having been traced, its growth in the French cantons must now be considered. In these, as in the districts where Italian was the language of the people, the spread of the new theological ideas was marked by much less enthusiasm, and occurred more slowly than in the German portion.

Farel, A.D. 1489.

The birthplace of the French Protestant Church in Switzerland is the little town of Aigle at the end of the Rhône Valley in Vaud. Here, in 1534, Guillaume Farel, an enthusiastic Reformer, who had been expelled from France, settled under the name of Ursinus, and supported himself by teaching in the local schools. He was born in 1489, in the Dauphiné mountains, and brought up in strict conformity with the doctrines of the Church of Rome. He early exhibited a character marked by a passionate longing after religion, and an eager readiness to accept the legends and teachings of the Church as true. Being thus by nature well-fitted for the priesthood he was educated for that calling, and having completed his studies was ordained.

In 1510, he was sent to the University of Paris, A.D. 1510. where he led a life of almost monastic asceticism, passing all the time he could spare from study in fasts, prayers and penances. In Paris he became acquainted with the celebrated Doctor Lefèvre of Etales, whose broad opinions and Evangelical preaching, rank him as the first Reformer of note in France. This acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and through the elder scholar's teaching and influence, the mind of the younger underwent a great and lasting change. This change eventually led the fervent and pious Catholic student to become one of the foremost fanatical Reformers of his day. Taking up the new doctrines with all the ardour of his enthusiastic nature, Farel soon distinguished himself by his eloquence and his boldness in Paris, as in several other French towns. In this he was greatly helped by the encouragement and protection of Lefèvre, Briçonnel, as of Margaret of Valois, the beautiful, learned and pious sister of King Francis I. In spite of this protection, Farel's boldness in exposing the abuses of the Church drew down the united attacks of the whole clerical party upon him, as well as incurred the emnity of the all-powerful Queen Mother, Louisa of Savoy.[1] These attacks obliged

1 Louisa of Savoy, so notorious for her gallantries and the open licentiousness of her "ladies of honour," found a ready assistant in her violent persecution of the early French Reformers in her favourite, the vicious and avaricious Duprat, who through her influence held the important position of Chancellor of the Kingdom. Duprat is described by the contemporary historian Belcarius, as "the most vicious of bipeds." In order to add to his wealth, he frequently made justice dependent upon bribes to himself, and that he might possess some of the richest Church benefices, himself took holy orders.

Farel to leave every town he entered, and culminated in his finally being expelled the country.

A.D. 1524. In 1524, he entered Switzerland and took up his residence in Basel. Here, with other exiled compatriots, he founded a French Church, and diligently laboured, both by his preaching and writings, to further the Evangelical cause. In this town Farel met and formed a close friendship with Œcolampadus, the influence of whose mild and conciliatory character did much to modify his own fiery impetuosity. He also

Erasmus. came in contact with Erasmus, but repelled by his vacillating conduct towards the Reformers, refused to join in the homage all Christendom was then paying that great literary arbiter, and, between the two, henceforth there ever existed open and bitter emnity. Erasmus seems never weary of using the most relentness invective when referring to Farel. He speaks of him as the most seditious spirit and the greatest liar he ever met, having a heart charged with vanity, and a tongue filled with malice. In place of *Farelus*, Erasmus was accustomed to write *Fallicus*, a charlatan—a word he coined from *Falla*, a trick.

In order the better to spread Evangelical doctrines, Farel visited Schaffhausen, Constanz and Zürich, where he was warmly welcomed by Zwingli, Myconius, and the other leading Swiss Reformers. But he was not fated for long to labour in this portion of the Confederation, as the machinations of Erasmus and the Catholic party succeeded in inducing the authorities to issue an order for his expulsion from Basel. Forced a second time to become an exile, the future looked dark indeed, when at this juncture his reputation procured him the pastorship of Montheliad. But even in this

secluded spot his enemies pursued him, and after having been able only to commence work in his new field, he was once more expelled (1525). He then A.D. 1525. returned secretly to Basel for a while, and afterwards settled in Aigle, when he set about the real work of his life, the Reformation of the French-speaking districts of Switzerland. Of this work Farel was both the pioneer and the leading spirit, though he was greatly assisted by the help of a youthful friend, named Pierre Viret, a native of Orbe.

Making Aigle the centre of their labours, the Reformers for two years scoured the surrounding country, preaching and lecturing under difficulties of every kind, being opposed by the clergy, the monks, and the vast mass of the people. Neither did imprisonments, fines, and other punishments abate their ardour, but rather tended to increase their efforts.

In considering the career of Farel as a Protestant missionary, it must be remembered that the Vaud districts at this time were under the rule of several states, holding very diverse views on religious matters, and having political interests quite apart from one another. Many of the towns and villages were under the joint rule of Freyburg (Catholic) and Bern (Protestant), whilst each of these cities also possessed separate districts of their own. Savoy and Geneva again were also masters in many localities. Moreover, the situation was rendered still more difficult from the fact that, while the Catholic authorities of Savoy and Freyburg energetically supported their co-religionists, the Protestant ones of Bern maintained the half-hearted policy they had pursued at Kappel—Geneva, where both religions were nearly equal in number of their adherents, was too

much occupied with political troubles to attend to others outside her walls.

Some of the most rancorous opposition displayed against Farel was seen at Orbe. Here his greatest opponents were the women, who were stirred up to a pitch of fanaticism by the preaching of a handsome young Franciscan friar named Juliani. Soon the whole town was in an uproar, and many serious crimes were committed. This condition at last became so serious that Bern for once roused herself, and enforced a decree that both Farel and Juliani should be allowed free speech, but should abstain from personal invectives. Similar outbursts of religious feeling occurred in many of the other towns over which Bern and Freyburg held divided authority.

In 1530 Farel succeeded in firmly establishing the Reform at Morat and Vully, and that in spite of the now active opposition of the citizens of Freyburg, who, not content with casting the Reformer into prison, used the whole strength of their powerful forces to stamp out the effects of his teachings. From this time the new faith spread rapidly throughout Western Switzerland and towards the close of the year a great Reform victory was won by the renunciation of Catholicism by the important town of Neuchâtel, when Farel was installed chief of the local Church. As a result a printing-press was set up for the first time in this city, whence issued numerous Evangelical works to all parts of the country. Farel's new position and increased local duties in no way interfered with his active efforts to extend his faith among the mass of the people, though he made but little progress among the Vaudois peasants, then, as now, staunch adherents of the Roman creed. His crowning and most important

Farel at Neuchâtel, A.D. 1530.

victory, however, was obtained by his conquest of Genêva, a city destined for many years to be the centre of the Reformation in Europe. Already he and his followers had made several energetic efforts to win over Geneva, and in so doing had narrowly escaped death at the hands of the turbulent inhabitants, urged on by the priests. Though at first beaten in the contest they had succeeded in making their doctrines known, and soon a compact and energetic Protestant party arose in open opposition to the Catholics. Both bodies paraded the streets armed, and frequent sanguinary encounters resulted. Then Bern and Freyburg joined the fray, the former supporting the Protestants and the latter the Catholics. After a long series of struggles the Bishop was expelled and Farel placed at the head of the new Church (March, 1534).

Geneva, A.D. 1534.

Before further summarising the political and religious events that so rapidly changed the whole future of Geneva and brought her from local to European importance, it will be as well briefly to trace her history during the time immediately anterior to these changes.

Before the 16th century the Counts and Bishops of Geneva and the districts belonging thereto exercised the chief governing functions over the city, and administered the courts of law. The Bishop, who was *ex-officio* a Prince of the Empire, was elected by the Chapter and the burghers. Between the rule of these two authorities, the citizens gradually increased their power, and at last were able to choose the City Treasurer and the four syndics from amongst their own number, and before fresh taxes were imposed or any measure of importance decided upon, their opinion was taken by a consultation with their General Assembly. Already in 1387 the liberties of the people were embodied in a charter, and

A.D. 1387.

on his election these were sworn to by the Bishop. This, however, was often merely a formality, and till a much later date the Bishop seldom allowed the charter to interfere with the exercise of his own will.

Meanwhile the neighbouring House of Savoy was gradually increasing in power. Among the many ambitious projects constantly aimed at by this House was the establishment of its supremacy over Geneva. In 1285 an alliance was formed between Savoy and the
A.D. 1417. citizens. In 1417 the then Count Amadeus VIII. (afterwards Pope Felix V.) purchased from the collateral heirs of the last Count of Geneva all their rights, and obtained the Emperor's sanction to this arrangement, as well as the title of Duke. He then made a proposal to the Bishop to buy his temporal rights also. So far the burghers had submitted, but this fresh move roused such a burst of indignation that the Bishop (who was willing enough to agree to the Duke's terms), thought
A.D. 1420. it prudent to break off the negotiations (1420). In the same year the Emperor formally recognised Geneva as an imperial city, subject only to the jurisdiction of the Empire, but having many and more weighty concerns to occupy his attention, neither he nor his successors took any steps to enforce this decree. Every year the influence of Savoy became more pronounced in Geneva, a condition of affairs greatly due to the Duke succeeding in effecting the election of Bishops for a long time who were members of the Savoy family.

A.D. 1519. In 1519, Duke Charles III. made a bold bid to obtain complete control over the city by imitating the example of his ancestors a century before, and taking to himself the rights exercised by the Bishop. Once more a popular and energetic protest was made, and an

appeal was sent to Freyburg for support. At this time Freyburg, already in 1478 allied with Geneva, showed great friendship for the burghers, due in great measure to the jealousy with which she viewed Savoy's increasing power. She accordingly gladly extended her protection and renewed her alliance.

At this period anything but unanimity existed among the burghers themselves, who were divided into two great parties, those who favoured Savoy, and those who preferred independence. This latter division, which was by far the more numerous, eventually became identified with the Reformers, and took as their name *Eidgenossen* (bound by oath, referring either to themselves or to their connection with the Confederates), a name that through French distortion in pronunciation was converted into *Eidguenots* or *Huguenots*,[1] and as such was applied to the Evangelicals of France. The sympathisers with Savoy were known as the *Mamelouks*.

Despite this treaty the unfortunate Genevese were

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1 Though this is the usually accepted derivation, much dispute has occurred as to the origin of the word. The following are some of the many ingenious, though apparently imaginary, derivations that have had champions. From *Hugons*, one of the gates of Tours, supposed to be haunted, at which the Reformers of that town held their first meetings, usually at night. From *Huc nos*, with which words a Protest of the Protestants commenced—(Dr. Hook). *Huguenot* appears as a surname in France as early as the 14th century, and possibly a heretic of that name or one called *Hugues*, *Hugon* or *Hugo*, may have been the originator of the term. The first documentary evidence of the name being applied to the Calvinists occurs in a letter written by the Count of Villars, Lieutenant-governor of Languedoc, bearing the date November 11th, 1560. *Hugues*, moreover, was the name of one of the three leaders of the democratic party, the two others being Berthelier and the famous François Bonivard.

subjected to many acts of persecution by the Duke. Frequent revolts followed, but these were promptly suppressed with the greatest severity, and an increased rigour of government resulted.

A.D. 1525. This condition lasted till 1525, when, in consequence of the absence of the greater part of the Savoy forces in the Milanese wars, the burghers made a more determined attempt than before to shake off their foreign yoke. Unfortunately for the success of the enterprise the Duke suddenly returned and quickly restored his authority by executing the chief leaders of the movement.

The following year saw the dawn of a brighter prospect for Geneva's freedom, which was none the less promising because it opened with increased miseries and further bloodshed. An effort had long been made to obtain a real and binding treaty with the powerful States of Bern and Freyburg. This was now accomplished, but only upon the costly terms the Swiss were able to dictate, and Geneva was obliged to accept. In return for the promise of the two cantons "to defend Geneva against all attacks on her persons, properties, privileges, liberties, jurisdiction and ancient usages," the city undertook a similar engagement towards Bern and Freyburg (1526). But in addition to this, Geneva agreed that while she would furnish whatever aid was necessary to her allies at her own expense, she would pay for all assistance they gave her. The treaty, coupled with the threatening aspect of Bern towards the Savoy districts of Vaud, caused the Duke to withdraw for a time his garrison from Geneva. No sooner did the last soldier leave than the Eidgenossen party took

Treaty with Bern and Freyburg, A.D. 1526.

control of the city, and emphasised their position by expelling their opponents, the Mamelouks, and confiscating their property. Fear of Bern prevented the Duke from taking open vengeance by war for even this arbitrary treatment of his followers. He contented himself with assisting the exiles and prohibiting all trade between his subjects and those of Geneva.

League of Savoyard Nobles.

Less cautious than their nominal lord, the warlike Savoyard nobles formed with the Mamelouks a league against Geneva, and at once commenced active hostilities. They destroyed all the estates in the suburban districts, killed everyone who fell into their hands, and then regularly blockaded the city. Within Geneva, during this disastrous period, the citizens bravely maintained their position, and resisting all offers from the Duke and his supporter, the Bishop, waited patiently and with hope for the succour of their Swiss allies.

The seeds of the Reform Farel and his followers had already sown in Geneva were beginning to bring forth abundant fruit in the numbers of citizens who now openly professed Evangelical doctrines. The Reform Movement was also greatly aided by Bonivard, Prior of St. Victor, who enthusiastically espoused and eloquently preached its principles. Here, as elsewhere, the Reformation owed much of its success to the flagrant immorality of the clergy. Neither can this be wondered at when, according to the account of Ruchat, the Bishop himself had the audacity, during the Lent of 1527, to abduct a young woman of respectable family, and was only forced to restore her to her parents by the threatening aspect of the people who gathered in great numbers round the episcopal palace.

The growth of the Reformation added new troubles to the hardly-pressed Genevese. Freyburg wrote threatening to renounce her alliance should the city not remain faithful to her old creed, and the magistrates accordingly carefully avoided giving any encouragement to the movement. This negative policy so far soothed
A.D. 1530. the religious susceptibilities of Freyburg, that in 1530 she joined her forces to those of Bern, under Johann von Erlach, who was accompanied also by contingents from other Swiss states, and marched to the relief of her ally. In the ensuing encounters the nobles were everywhere decisively defeated, many of them killed, and several of their most formidable strongholds destroyed. The city was relieved on October 10th, and on the mediation of deputies from the Confederation not engaged in the war, another peace—that of St. Julien—was negotiated. The Duke engaged to liberate Bonivard, whom he had captured, from Chillon, and in the event of his attacking Geneva, he promised to forfeit his Vaudois possessions to Freyburg and Bern. He was further to defray the cost of the war, and be allowed to retain certain rights over the city, such as appointing an officer of his own to administer justice. This latter stipulation was received by the Genevese with the greatest indignation, but being powerless to do more than protest, they had eventually to submit, and themselves pay their liberators the expenses agreed to by their alliance. The Swiss then left the city, and the Duke, in spite of his pledged word, neglected to fulfil his engagements under the stipulation of the Treaty of St. Julien beyond trying to enforce the rights that treaty gave him.

During the next four years the Reformation rapidly

displaced the old faith, and when, in 1534, Farel was installed as head of the new Church, the mass of the people were professing Protestants. This led to one serious result for Geneva, as Freyburg formally withdrew from her alliance, and left the city with only the uncertain support of Bern. All altars, images, and other outward marks of Roman Catholicism were now destroyed by the fanatical followers of Farel, and the Mass was officially forbidden by the municipal council, who further forbade any act of Romish worship to be performed.

The Reform at Geneva, A.D. 1534.

Most of the Catholics left the city, and the Bishop launched a sentence of excommunication from Gex, whither he had retired after his expulsion, against Geneva.

Thus matters remained for a year, when, as the burghers resolutely refused to acknowledge his sovereign rights, the Duke collected a large army, and, judging Bern would remain inactive, prepared to enforce them. In her distress Geneva appealed to her ally for help, but Bern relapsed into her old policy and would not fulfil her treaty obligations. But aid came from another quarter. The mountaineers around Neuchâtel and the men of Seeland volunteered to assist their co-religionists. The offer was eagerly accepted, and in October a force of 700 of these brave peasants, under the command of their banneret and a gallant glazier named Wildermuth, marched against the Savoyards, and defeated a portion of the Duke's army, numbering 4,000, with great loss, at Gingins. Then, continuing their victorious career, they entered Genevese territory. At this junction Bern showed a sudden activity, but in a manner very unexpected by her harassed ally. She

War between Geneva and Savoy.

forwarded a strongly-worded command to the Seeland peasants to return to their homes, which command they were perforce obliged to obey.

But the aid Bern refused to bestow voluntarily, she felt herself now compelled to give out of regard for her own interests. Finding herself completely deserted, and at the mercy of Savoy, Geneva as a last resource turned to the chivalrous Francis I., and implored him to furnish the city with a French garrison. Had this request been granted, Bern naturally felt the proximity of French troops would seriously jeopardise her own position, and interfere with her schemes of territorial aggrandisement.

A.D. 1536. As Geneva was now closely invested by the Duke, who still neglected to perform his part of the Treaty of St. Julien, and having received assurances of the sympathy of the other Confederates, Bern at last despatched an army of 7,000 men to help her ally. Entering Vaud by Morat, the Bernese had little trouble in effecting the submission of the whole country, except Yverdun, and without the loss of a single soldier the army triumphantly entered Geneva—(February 2nd). The extraordinary rapidity and success of this march excited the liveliest interest, not unmixed with jealousy, amongst the rest of the Confederates, a feeling that was greatly increased by the action of Bern in annexing Gex and a large portion of Chablais and Vaud. Whilst these events were taking place the French attacked the Duke, and rapidly conquered all Savoy and a large portion of Piedmont, and thus within the space of a few weeks he was stripped of most of his territorial possessions.

Bern's ambition, not being satisfied with even her

recent successes, now led her to propose to the burghers that Geneva should become incorporated within her territories.

This dishonourable suggestion roused an intense feeling of indignation among the citizens, who at once sent deputies to Bern to represent all they had suffered in the cause of freedom, and offering to pay all the expenses their deliverers had incurred in coming to their aid. After many months of negotiation Bern's pretensions were withdrawn and her troops vacated the city.

A treaty of alliance and co-burghership was entered into for a period of twenty-five years, and later made perpetual. *Treaty with Bern, Aug., 1536.*

Bern's next step was the annexation of Lausanne, where she established the Reform and expelled the Bishop. The enormous collection of treasures found in the cathedral, the accumulation of three centuries, was forwarded to Bern, and the Church property divided between the Communes and the State. Before its capture Lausanne was a separate division under the sovereignty of a Bishop, and embraced the districts of Avenches, Luzern and Pully.

The grasping rapacity and extent of Bern's possessions excited the fear and passions of the Catholics of Freyburg, who dreaded lest under her powerful rival's protection the Reform should extend over the whole country. They accordingly took up arms and obtained possession of Romont, Châlet, Surpierre and Estavayer, but were foiled in their attempts to seize Vevey, their adversaries arriving there before them.

Under the Savoyard commander Beauford garrisoned with a strong force of the Duke's followers, *Capture of Chillon.*

Chillon long held out, but was at last taken by a combined attack of Bernese by land and Genevese by water. The first act of the victors was to liberate the Geneva Reformer, Bonivard, who, for six years, had been kept a close prisoner within the vaults beneath the castle, and to escort him in triumph back to his native city.[1]

A.D. 1555. The total annexation of Vaud to Bern, excepting the few places occupied by Freyburg, was not effected till 1555, when the overthrow and ruin of the powerful Counts of Gruyère completed the subjugation of the country. In those towns that submitted without resistance the people were allowed to retain their ancient privileges and much of their freedom, and exercise whichever religion they chose.

In the case of towns that, like Yverdun, made a stand against their conquerors, their rights and charters were forfeited, and the Protestant form of faith was made obligatory. The whole of Vaud was divided into eight bailiwicks, over each of which a Governor from Bern ruled, with twelve judges, who acted as a Court of Appeal from the decisions of the lesser local tribunals. Bern's general rule was just and popular in Vaud, except among the nobles, whose power was broken and whose privileges were abolished.

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1 This famous hero of every Swiss guide-book, whom Byron unwittingly did so much to immortalise, appears by the light of more modern and calmer criticism to have been a very poor type of hero in reality, a kind of 16th century Rochefort. Naturally intellectual and refined in his tastes, he was often moved to acts of folly by his passionate, ambitious and vain temperament. The part he played of an ardent democratic leader seems to have been the outcome more of personal pique against the Duke of Savoy than of any honest regard for the welfare of the people of Geneva.

Whilst the Reformation was thus making steady progress in the great German and French divisions of the country, it was also trying to force its way in the Italian Bailiwicks subject to the Swiss on the other side of the Alps. Here, chiefly through the preaching of a Carmelite monk named Fontana, who was in correspondence with Zwingli, many converts soon appeared, and as early as 1528 Evangelical doctrines found followers at Locarno. Very little permanent progress, however, was effected, as, in 1555, at the intervention of the Catholic Cantons, the question of religion was put to the vote, and as the Protestants were in these districts considerably in the minority, they were forbidden to exercise their faith. This decree was soon followed by another, expelling all the chief Evangelicals. Most of these found a shelter in the Graubünden and in Zürich, and in the latter introduced their trade of silk weaving and dyeing, and thus initiated an industry that added greatly to the wealth of the city.

Italian Bailiwicks, A.D. 1528.

A.D. 1555.

When, in 1534, Farel took up his residence in Geneva, he set about vigorously indoctrinating the people with his religious views, and also energetically did his utmost to reform their very lax notions on the subject of morality. Finding, after many efforts, simple preaching and his own example were insufficient to make the desired changes, he at last had resource to the civil authorities to enforce his doctrines, and these, being mostly his ardent followers, gladly responded to his demands. Dancing, games, and festivities of all kinds were accordingly declared unlawful, subjecting those who indulged in them to severe punishments. Church attendance and taking the Communion were

Farel at Geneva, A.D. 1534.

made obligatory upon all, and a Confession of Faith was drawn up, to which every citizen was compelled *July*, 1537. to subscribe his assent on oath. These vigorous measures placed the Reformed Church upon a firm basis, and compelled those who differed from its tenets to declare themselves openly.

A year before this system was enforced, Farel took as his lieutenant one whose name was destined to become more celebrated than any of the other Swiss Reformers — John Calvin. This remarkable man was some twenty years younger than his chief, but from the time he took up his residence in Geneva he showed qualities that strongly entitled him to the foremost place.

John Calvin, A.D. 1509. Calvin was born in 1509 at Noyon, in Picardy. His father, though only a cooper, gave his son a good education, and destined him for the priesthood, and in order to complete his studies, sent him to the University of Paris. He had abundant opportunities of personally studying the abuses in his Church, as before he was ten years of age he was appointed canon of the cathedral in his native town, in addition to which he presently received two parochial curacies. He seems early to have read thoughtfully the Bible, and this shortly led to a great change in his religious ideas. After travelling to Orleans and Bruges, where he studied Greek under Wolmar, he commenced to preach earnestly the Evangelical doctrines.

A.D. 1532. In 1532 Calvin published in Paris his commentaries on Seneca's "De Clementia." He then resigned his benefices, and devoted himself entirely to the classics and divinity. He travelled through various French towns boldly preaching his views, and soon raised such

a storm wherever he went that he was compelled to leave the country. In his exile he sought safety in Basel, where he published the most celebrated of all his works, the "Institutio Religionis Christianæ" (1536). This book, which fully set forth the doctrines of the Reformers and exposed the abuses of the Church, made a great stir; it was read everywhere, and rapidly passed through several editions. Its effect, indeed, was so great and so lasting that it is looked upon as marking a distinct era in modern religious evolution. Leaving Basel, Calvin visited Italy, whence he was driven by the Inquisition, and once more entered France. Here his enemies again attacked him and drove him into exile. In 1536 Calvin joined Farel in Geneva, being then on his way to seek a new resting-place in Germany. A.D. 1536.

In bodily and mental attributes the two chief French Reformers greatly resembled each other. Both possessed brilliant oratorical, organising and literary abilities, and great force of character and personality. Both suffered from infirm health, though their strength of will and faith in the absolute rightness of their religious beliefs enabled them to accomplish a mass of work that would have quickly broken down most men of far greater physical power. Though a fervent and fearless teacher of Christianity like Farel, Calvin, unlike his colleague, was capable of showing the greatest irritability and imperiousness of temper when determined opposition thwarted his plans. He moreover on several occasions exhibited a narrow-mindedness, a bigotry and a revengeful cruelty that leave many a foul and black mark upon the memory of one who in the main used his brilliant gifts disinterestedly for the benefit of his fellow-creatures.

The new policy introduced by Farel and Calvin to coerce the Genevese into religion and morality raised up a party which, though thoroughly at one with them as regards doctrine, was bitterly opposed to the manner in which they proposed to enforce it. Soon the Council and the whole city divided into two factions. On Easter Day, 1538, a crisis came. Farel refused the Communion to those of his opponents who would not submit to his ruling, and a tumult followed. Indeed so serious did the trouble become, that in order to quiet the people the Council at last issued an order to the two Reformers to quit the city (April 23rd).

Expulsion of Farel and Calvin from Geneva, A.D. 1538.

Calvin retired to Strasburg, where he married, and being appointed professor of theology at the University, rapidly rose to great local eminence. Farel took up his residence at Bern, whence he afterwards moved to Neuchâtel.

During their absence from Geneva the Roman Catholic clergy made great but fruitless efforts to regain their lost ascendancy. The members of the Municipal Council, who now exercised the powers before wielded by the Reform leaders, proved themselves yet more intolerant to the followers of the old creed; and this, coupled with the renewed designs of Bern upon Genevese territory, gave rise to so great a public feeling of unrest and insecurity, that a reaction set in in favour of the expelled ministers.[1] More and more the absolute necessity of having a strong hand at the head of affairs

1 Three members of the Government, who had been foremost in their efforts to excite the people against the Reformers, were at this time discovered to have signed a treaty with Bern agreeing to her wishes. The popular indignation excited by their act became so great, that they were arrested, tried as traitors, and executed.

became apparent, if general anarchy and civil war were to be avoided. In 1541 the authorities decided to request the Reformers to return, and sent a deputation to Neuchâtel and Strasburg to convey their wishes to Farel and Calvin. The latter alone consented to return, and on September 10th re-entered the town and assumed supreme command in religious matters, a command that soon took in all the affairs of the city, and ended only with his death.

Recall of the Reform Leaders, A.D. 1541.

Calvin's theocratic government was in accordance with his austere and forcible character, and his narrow views on religion. With the approval of the General Assembly he established a permanent Consistory, composed half of lay and half of clerical members. The chief functions of this body, over which Calvin always presided at its weekly meetings, was to act as a censor morum, and watch over the conservation of "sound" doctrine. By its inquisitorial powers it placed the whole city under a system of the strictest espionage, by which the smallest offences against religion and morals were at once reported and promptly punished. And now commenced a veritable reign of terror, not only for the evil-doers, but for all those who in the slightest detail deviated from the strict letter of the prescribed laws. In manners, speech, dress and all outward demeanour, one rigid and Puritanical formula was enforced with pitiless rigour on every citizen. The slightest display of levity or healthy enjoyment was suppressed with a strong hand, and soon fines, whippings, imprisonments, exiles and executions reduced Geneva to a dreary and uniform level of respectable dulness that was only relieved by her increased commercial relations and consequent increased wealth. Geneva became, as was

Calvin's Rule.

afterwards aptly said, the Protestant Rome, of which Calvin was the all-powerful Pope. In that Rome the inhabitants voluntarily submitted to forego every form of rational pleasure "in hope to merit Heaven by making life a Hell." Were it not for the extraordinary impulse that at this period was given to the trade of Geneva, and the great influx of refugees that sought shelter in the city, it is impossible that the state of abnormal suppression Calvin enforced could have lasted long, or ended otherwise than in a violent reaction, similar to that which followed the death of Cromwell in England.[1]

Neither did Calvin's influence and power extend only over religious matters. He presently became the despotic arbiter in all civil affairs, disobedience to whose mandates was punished with the cruelest severity. In this capacity he collected and revised the old city laws, and compiled a code which in 1543 was, by the vote of the General Assembly, made binding on all citizens of the republic.

A.D. 1543.

Calvin and Servetus, A.D. 1553.

In 1553, Calvin performed an act that has stamped

1 The effects of Calvin's stringent system of Church espionage are still visible, but in a much milder and less open manner. Though greatly disliked by the majority of the people, the system has taken such firm root in both the clerical and lay mind, that three and a half centuries of progress have been unable entirely to destroy it. Offences against doctrine and morals are still reported to the heads of the Church, and although the drastic measures Calvin instituted for their punishment are now no longer possible, the more refined methods of social ostracism and the weight of clerical and public opinion, act as efficaciously in restraining the backslider and restoring the straying sheep to the fold of orthodoxy and moral living. Those, however, who have seen much of the inner life of the people of Geneva are usually more impressed by their intimate acquaintance with the Eleventh Commandment than by their practical observance of the Decalogue.

his memory with an indelible stain of infamy, that all his many noble and beneficent deeds have failed to obliterate. Blinded by religious zeal and personal hatred, he tried to procure the execution of Michael Servetus, the celebrated anti-Trinitarian Spanish physician, then on his trial for heresy at Vienne, for denying that more than one God existed. Servetus had obtained much notoriety by publishing his book, "De Trinitatis Erroribus," in which he adhered to the doctrines of Arius and other early Christians. In his younger days he had already argued the subject with Calvin, when the latter was still a student at Paris. During his trial by the Inquisition at Vienne, Calvin secretly forwarded to the judges documentary evidence of the prisoner's opinions, and by this evidence he was condemned to death. Servetus, however, succeeded in escaping, and, with fatuous unwisdom (well-knowing the bitter enmity Calvin bore him), he took refuge secretly in Geneva. Here Calvin's social police quickly unearthed him, and delivered him up to the Council for trial. Calvin now used every effort to influence the tribunal against the unhappy heretic, who was in the end condemned for his views touching the Trinity, and on October 27th he was burned alive at the stake by a slow fire. In this tragedy Calvin acted from both religious and personal motives, and himself filled the offices of informer, detective, prosecutor and judge, though it is but fair to say that when the final decree for the execution was given, he endeavoured to substitute some milder form of punishment.[1]

1 The arrest and trial of this celebrated theologian, physician, anatomist, geographer and mathematician, were due to the information that he was the author of the much talked-of heretical

A.D. 1554. In the following year, Calvin published a work in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity against the views of Servetus, and to prove the right of the civil authority to punish heresy.

Under Calvin's rule Geneva gradually became a city of refuge for persecuted Protestants of other lands. To many of these the rights of citizenship were granted, and many of their descendants can still be found among the burghers. By this immigration some 10,000 members of different nationalities were added to the Geneva Church. Great encouragement was also held out to foreign scholars to settle in the city, which thus became a literary, as well as the chief Protestant religious centre of Europe.

Calvin's activity and power of work, in spite of his feeble health, were incredible. He preached twice daily for two weeks every month; he delivered three divinity lectures weekly; he attended the Consistory and civil courts, and supervised the government of the city; he visited the sick; he wrote numerous controversial religious works and kept up a voluminous corres-

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work, "Christianismi Restitutio," that Calvin secretly furnished to Cardinal Archbishop Tournon, whose diocese extended close to Geneva. In spite of this the prisoner would probably have been acquitted for want of sufficient evidence, had not Calvin further sent several private letters he had received from Servetus and a portion of the manuscript to the Inquisitor. In the final condemnation these "letters and writings addressed to Mr. J. Calvin," are specially alluded to. These acts of treachery, as well as the manner in which Calvin subsequently hounded the unfortunate man to his death in Geneva, throw a vivid light on one side of the great Reformer's character, which shows that in implacable hatred and unscrupulous and brutal bigotry, Calvin was, on occasion, quite the equal of many of the worst among his opponents in religion.

pondence, both friendly and polemical, with every centre of the Reformed Church in Europe. He founded an academy for the training of pastors and the study of the arts and sciences, in which he himself lectured on theology, and he further reformed and greatly improved the whole system of education in Geneva. English, German, Italian and Spanish chapels were built, and twenty-four printing presses worked night and day, from which issued religious works in foreign languages to be sent abroad. Geneva thus in a great measure became the centre and life of the whole Reformed Church in Europe, a position that, had it not been for Calvin's recall, would probably have been occupied by Strasburg. But the high pressure of work without interruption maintained for so long by Calvin, through the extraordinary force of his will over his enfeebled body, could not continue. His health at last completely broke down under the perpetual strain, and his strength rapidly declined. On February 27th, feeling his end draw near, he bade farewell to the city chiefs, and on the following day to the ministers, and shortly afterwards was visited by Farel, who came specially from Neuchâtel to be with his old friend at the last. Still his nervous force kept alive the feeble flame of life, and it was not till May 27th that he died, aged 54. He left his fortune by will to be divided amongst his relations, the city, and the poor. A year later Farel, aged 76, followed his great colleague. Like most of the early Reformers, John Calvin ever showed in his private life the purest morality; he was sincere, devout and disinterested in his religious work, his memory was extraordinary, his intellect clear, his reasoning powers great; his writings are marked by logic, learning and subtlety, second to none of his

Calvin's Death, May 27, 1564.

contemporaries—they are often also stamped by an acrimoniousness and contemptuous tone that enhanced their powers of wounding, though did not add to their Christian spirit. Calvin's chief victories were won by the strength of his will and the determined perseverance of his character. His most prominent faults were due to his imperiousness and his ungovernable temper, his impatience of opposition, and his illiberal and cramped mind, that prevented him from taking any but the most unlovable and least human views on religion. "He had all the overbearing violence of Luther, without the cheering warmth and straightforward frankness of the great German Reformer; he had neither the modest simplicity and self-control of Zwingli, nor the kind conciliatory feeling of Melancthon." By the harsh and narrow views he formed of the teachings of the Gospels, Calvin brought the terrors of Hell forcibly and at all times to sinners, but seldom the joys of Heaven to the repentant. As Ulric Zwingli was the apostle of Salvation, so John Calvin was pre-eminently the apostle of Damnation.

But the practical and permanent benefits conferred by Calvin in the social and moral life of Geneva were great and undoubted. He found society disorderly, ignorant, licentious, and on the verge of civil war; he left it orderly, religious, well-instructed, moral and patriotic.

The chief doctrines embraced by Calvinism (which name does not appear to be used till after the "Conference of Poissy" in 1564, at which Calvin himself was unable, through illness, to be present) are—Original Sin, Predestination, Particular Redemption, Perseverance of the Saints, and the *spiritual* presence of Christ

in the Eucharist.[1] Calvinism reduces the sacraments to the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and suppresses all ceremonies and all doctrines, traditions and authorities other than those he believed were authorised by the Gospels.

Theodore Bèze, A.D. 1605.

After Calvin's death, one of his chief lieutenants, Theodore Bèze, was elected to his vacant throne. Of a more tactful and less harsh disposition than his predecessor, Bèze exercised, till his death in 1605, a wonderful influence over the Reformed Church of Geneva, as of Europe generally, and greatly softened and humanised religion, making men's lives both better and brighter. Of him it was said, "that it were better to dwell with Bèze in Hell, than to live in Heaven with Calvin." In 1566 a general and uniform Confession of Faith was agreed to by Geneva, the Protestant Cantons of Bern, Zürich, Basel and Schaffhausen, as also by the allied towns of St. Gallen, Muhlhausen and Bienne. This course was rendered necessary in order to bring all the Swiss centres of the Reformation into one common Church.

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1 The doctrine of the Eucharist was one of the most important of the differences between Catholics and Protestants, as between different sects of the latter themselves. The Church of Rome held that at the moment of consecration the bread and wine were changed into the *actual* body and blood of Christ (Transubstantiation). The Lutherans maintained that, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ were present *with* the materials of the bread and wine (Consubstantiation). Both these doctrines were rejected by Zwingli, and, in his later life, by Calvin, who interpreted the sacrament figuratively.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CATHOLIC REACTION AND THE OVERTHROW OF THE OLD CONFEDERATION

A.D. 1545-1655

Up to the middle of the 16th century, the unsettled condition of European politics, and the general longing to escape from the thraldom of a debased religion, greatly favoured the spread of the Reformation. But, after that period, many powerful influences arose to check its further progress, and to cause a reaction in favour of the old faith. As in the history of all great changes, conservative instincts made men pause, and now that the excitement of the first battle was over, made the timid fearful of the future, if not wistful of the past.

Philip II. of Spain, A.D. 1556-96.

One of the chief hindrances to the advance of Protestantism was the accession to the throne of Spain, Holland and Italy, of Philip II. (1556-96), who showed the most violent hostility towards the Reformation, and backed his opinions by drastic measures of suppression. The character of this powerful monarch, as drawn by both Catholic and Protestant historians, is remarkable in its blackness, though English accounts are probably highly-coloured through Philip's "invincible Armada" enterprise. He has been accused of every crime in or out of the Decalogue. He is represented as a bloodthirsty bigot, who delighted in wholesale butcheries of heretics by *auto-da-fè*, and other torturing modes of death; as a man of ungovernable

and diabolical temper, whose fiendish fondness for slaughter was only equalled by his fanaticism, his tyranny, his insatiable ambition, and his unbridled indulgence in every form of gross sensuality.

France and Savoy also combined to root out the new religion, now deprived of its chief leaders by the deaths of Luther, Zwingli, Farel and Calvin.

Jesuits and Capuchines.

But probably the appearance of the very powerful new Catholic orders of monks, the Jesuits and the Capuchines, did more to arrest the Reformation than any of its other forcible opponents. These orders were created specially to combat and stamp out the many heresies of the time, and their ranks were quickly filled with numbers of enthusiastic, learned, and conscientiously pious men, who, abandoning all other objects, threw their whole energies into the work of their lives.

Council of Trent, A.D. 1545-1563.

The influence of the great Æcumenical Council of Trent, that sat from 1545 to 1563, also doubtless did much in the same direction, though only indirectly, by authoritatively confirming the doctrines, and by lessening the scandals of the Church. "With regard to dogmas, that solemn assembly did little else than assert or confirm the ancient doctrines acknowledged by the Western Church, but with regard to the correction of abuses and the reform of morals, it effected much more than any former Council. It may be justly affirmed that if the Council could not make the Protestants return to Catholicism, it prevented at least the Catholics becoming Protestants"[1]—(Bolta). What the combined efforts

1 In the words of the first President, the Papal Nuncio, the Council "assembled for the glory of God, the extirpation of heresy, the reformation of the clergy and people, and the downfall of the

of these several agencies might have failed to do was soon accomplished by the desertions and jealousies everywhere rife among the different sects of the Protestants themselves, by the intemperate zeal of the latter, and the many examples they showed of savage bigotry and fanaticism.

The Catholic reaction, as seen in the Swiss Italian Bailiwicks, has already been noticed. Similar revulsions of religious feeling occurred in other centres, and at last gave rise to important political changes.

Bern, A.D. 1564.

Bern's great power and extensive territory, and her position as the leading Protestant State in Switzerland, led the Catholics to concentrate their strength against her. This brought about in 1564 a treaty between Bern and Savoy, whereby the former restored many of her conquests to the Duke, Emmanuel Philibert, on condition that the inhabitants might be allowed to continue the Protestant faith in peace. Bern retained, however, possession of the chief towns she had won, including Vevey, Lausanne, Yverdun, Chillon and Nyon. Dis-

Savoy.

regarding his pledged word, it was not long before the Duke commenced an active crusade against the Protestants in his newly restored territories. For this purpose he introduced the Jesuits and Capuchines, and backed their efforts by the weight of the secular power, though

enemies of the Christian name." This celebrated Assembly, which with varying intervals, sat for eighteen years, dogmatised on various doctrines already accepted, and issued salutary regulations restricting or abolishing many of the most glaring abuses in the Church. Its final decrees were signed by six Cardinals, three Patriarchs, twenty-five Archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight Bishops, seven Generals of monastic orders, and seven Abbots, besides many other lesser Church dignitaries, and were accepted by all the Roman Catholic States of Western Europe, with the one exception of France.

he does not appear to have used actual persecution to any great extent to force the people to re-enter the Romish Church. His son and successor, Charles Emmanuel, son-in-law of Philip II. of Spain, was less scrupulous. In 1598 he expelled the Reformed clergy from Chablais, and made the old faith obligatory on all. Following the traditions of his House he had already aimed at territorial aggrandisement, Geneva and Lausanne being the special objects of his ambition.

A.D. 1598.

Savoy and Geneva.

Failing to win over Geneva by diplomacy and lavish bribes, Charles collected a large army, composed in part of men from the Waldstätten, and prepared to take it by force. His first operations consisted in destroying several villages, and overrunning the Genevese rural districts. At this juncture Bern for once acted with promptitude, and by the despatch of a strong contingent enabled her ally to drive back her Savoyard assailants.

Savoy and Lausanne, A.D. 1588.

Finding himself unable to capture Geneva, the Duke turned his forces against Lausanne, where he already numbered many adherents among the nobility and city chiefs. With one of the latter, the then Burgomaster, Charles concocted a conspiracy by which a number of his followers were to be secretly admitted within the walls. Having done this, a general massacre of all the leading men opposed to his interests was to follow and the city was then to be handed over to him. Though carefully planned, and secretly managed, the scheme became known and prompt punishment followed. Numbers of those implicated were at once tried and beheaded or expelled, whilst many more made their escape.

Shortly after this fruitless attempt, Bern, urged on

by France and Geneva, declared war against Savoy, and placed an army of 10,000 men in the field, under the command of a French officer of distinction, Harlay de Saucy. The campaign opened by the capture of several towns of minor importance from Savoy. Scarcely, however, had hostilities fairly commenced when the war collapsed by the defection of the French leader, who abruptly entered France with the majority of his troops and joined Henry III. and Henry of Navarre, who were then fighting against the Catholic League. Another army was quickly collected by Bern and Geneva, but the appearance of Charles at the head of 15,000 soldiers of different nationalities considerably abated the fighting ardour of the Swiss. The declaration of war had always been unpopular with a large minority of the Bernese burghers, and these now coming to power concluded a dishonourable peace in
A.D. 1589. October, 1589, at Nyon. In this treaty the shifty sense of honour so often displayed by Bern once more came to the fore, as she included a secret clause by which she abandoned Geneva to the Duke's mercy and even bound herself to assist him in reducing her ally to obedience. On this occasion the not too scrupulous people of Bern, when they learned what had been done in their name, were shocked with the dishonour thrown on their city. Great indignation was expressed on all sides, and in the rural districts a rising actually took place that compelled the Council to cancel the obnoxious clause. Then, happily for the independence of Geneva, Henry IV. ascended the throne of France, as in him she found what she had for so long sought in vain, a powerful and a honourable protector. Her cause was also ardently espoused by

Elizabeth of England and the Prince of Orange, and in 1598 her independence was guaranteed by the Duke by the terms of the Treaty of Vervins, which concluded the war between France and Savoy. A.D. 1598

Geneva

But not for long did the restless ambition of Charles allow him to observe the terms of this compact. The temptation to attempt the capture of Geneva proved too strong to be resisted. By a combination of force and cunning he hoped to make the attempt certain of success. Accordingly, in December, 1602, 8,000 men were sent to the frontier, ostensibly to form an army of observation to watch the French movements, under the command of D'Aubigné, one of the most experienced of the Generals of Savoy. On the night of the 12th, a force of picked men marched to surprise Geneva and admit the main army. Furnished with scaling ladders and well armed, this corps arrived before the city without being discovered at about one o'clock in the morning, and silently scaled the walls. Already many had crossed the ramparts when they were perceived by a sentry who, firing his weapon, aroused the guard, and soon the whole city was alarmed. The portcullis was hastily lowered, and the firing of a cannon that enfiladed the trench swept down the ladders, and prevented any more of the enemy gaining admittance. Within a few minutes the streets were filled with hundreds of half-naked burghers who rushed from their beds to defend their city. A fearful struggle then ensued which ended in the total overthrow of the invaders. Out of some 360 who entered Geneva, only 77 escaped immediate death by being made prisoners. They gained little, however, by this respite, for the same day they were all hanged as common assassins, their heads were then exposed on the

L'Escalade, Dec. 12, 1602.

ramparts, and their bodies thrown into the Rhône. One of the syndics of Geneva, believed to have been in collusion with Savoy, was at once seized and publicly broken on the wheel. This memorable episode closed with a general thanksgiving service in the Cathedral of St. Peter, a thanksgiving that has ever been held on the anniversary of the attack—known in Geneva's history as *L'Escalade*.[1]

The Duke's treacherous conduct raised a storm of indignation about him from every Reformed centre of Europe, and offers of help rapidly came to Geneva. Greater and greater grew the feeling of resentment which threatened to light up a general war between the Protestant and Catholic States. To prevent this the Pope, France, and Spain for once united to enforce peace, and a new treaty of St. Julien was drawn up in July, 1603, by which the Duke engaged not to assemble any troops, or build any fortress within sixteen miles of Geneva. This treaty at last brought tranquility and security to the little republic, which, moreover, formed a perpetual alliance with Zürich, and henceforth steadily progressed in civilisation, in learning and in influence.

Treaty of St. Julien, A.D. 1603.

Of the many men who played important *rôles* at this time in restoring and propagating the doctrines of Rome in Northern Italy and Switzerland, Carlo Borromeo is one of the most conspicuous. A nephew of Pope Pius IV., he rapidly rose to the rank of

Carlo Borromeo, A.D. 1510-84.

1 With the Savoy force that attempted to capture Geneva were several Jesuit priests. One of these, a Scotchman named Alexander Haym, braced the courage of the soldiers by repeatedly telling them that every round they mounted on the scaling ladder was a step towards heaven. As every man who entered the city perished, this prophecy may possibly have been promptly verified.

Cardinal, and was made Bishop of Milan whilst still a young man. His diocese included the Swiss Italian Bailiwicks, and in them, as in many other districts of the Confederation, he energetically furthered the advance of his religious doctrines. He was one of the chief agents in spreading and enforcing the decrees of the Council of Trent, and in this duty, as well as in his general work, his fearless, upright and pure-minded character makes him a striking contrast to most of his contemporaries. His character, however, was not entirely free from the cruel traits that nearly all showed during the times in which he lived. Persuasion was the chief, and usually the only means he employed in his missionary labours, yet on several occasions he did not hesitate to resort to more extreme measures when milder means failed, as is shown by the martyrs to their faith who perished at the stake, or were tortured, or otherwise killed through his orders. His efforts to introduce the Inquisition were opposed by even the Catholics themselves, and Switzerland remained the only country in Western Europe containing a large number of members of the Roman communion where this tribunal never held a meeting. The Swiss Catholics further showed the characteristic independence of their race by refusing to adopt the decisions of the Trent Council in matters of discipline and Church and State connection, though they readily received its decrees touching faith and dogma.

In 1574 the energetic Cardinal Borromeo estab- A.D. 1574.
lished the Jesuits at Luzern, and seven years later the Capuchines at Lugano. The Jesuits were essentially the scholars of Catholicism ; they worked and studied in their colleges, filled the pulpits of the principal churches,

superintended the education of the young, and generally occupied themselves with affairs specially belonging to Church matters. To the Capuchines were entrusted the work of preaching, and, by missionary efforts, of converting the mass of the people. In Luzern the Cardinal was greatly aided by the enthusiastic co-operation of Ludwig Phyffer, the leader of the Swiss mercenaries in the French religious wars from 1562 to 1570. The influence, wealth and personal popularity Phyffer acquired amongst his Swiss Catholic compatriots earned him the title of the "Swiss King," though with the exception of his valuable co-operation with the Cardinal in re-establishing the old faith, he did little to cause his name to be remembered. Carlo Borromeo further showed his interest in the Confederation by establishing a free college for Swiss students at Milan — the Collegium Helveticum — and by inducing the Pope to keep a Nuncio permanently in Switzerland.[1] The first of these
A.D. 1579. Nuncios was the Bishop of Vercelli, appointed in 1579, by whose efforts an alliance was effected between the Catholic Cantons and the Bishop of Basel.

Mercenary Service, A.D. 1570. The national love of fighting, and still more of

1 During the fearful plague that broke out in Milan in 1576, and in which 17,000 victims perished, the Cardinal earned an undying reputation for courage and devotion by fearlessly working day and night among the sick, relieving their temporal sufferings, and administering to their spiritual needs. During his lifetime he not only greatly benefited his fellow-creatures, but did immense service to his Church. Neither has the latter allowed his death to end his career of usefulness, as a large income is annually made by exhibiting the Saint's corpse, dressed in full episcopal vestments, and enclosed in a crystal casket, beneath the Cathedral of Milan. The scandalous traffic in this ghastly picture of splendour and decay appears too lucrative for the authorities to prohibit it, though, like many other sources of revenue, it cannot fail to injure the Church herself.

money, showed itself prominently in 1570, when the Swiss Catholic Cantons signed a treaty at Luzern with Pope Pius IV., by which they agreed, in return for large payments, to supply him with an auxiliary force in case of war. This treaty was further renewed in 1573 by Gregory XIII.

Gregorian Calendar, A.D. 1582.

A curious instance of Protestant ignorance or bigotry occurred at this period, when the Reformed districts refused to accept the revised calendar of Gregory XIII. (1572-1585), who, in order to correct the errors that had crept into the Julian Calendar, struck out ten days from the year 1582. The Protestants made the question one of religion, and very serious disputes and popular disturbances followed, especially in the districts of Thurgau. The Catholics, on the other hand, not only adopted the Gregorian method (new style), but imposed its compulsory use upon the free Bailiwicks. The two parties then fixed separate days for their festivals, markets, etc., and great confusion naturally arose. The question was eventually settled by a general decision that each canton should be at liberty to use whichever method of computation it thought fit.

Borromean League, A.D. 1586.

In October, 1586, a serious and very important step was taken by the Catholic members of the Confederation, by the formation of an alliance amongst themselves (the *Borromean*, or Golden League). By this, each and all of the seven Catholic Cantons (Uri, Schwyx, Unterwalden, Luzern, Zug, Freyburg and Solothurn) took a solemn oath to support one another if attacked, to uphold the old faith by every means in their power, and to convert or punish all Protestants dwelling within their districts. This reactionary act was a distinct

challenge to the Reformed Cantons, but a still more dangerous clause for the continuance of national unity was added, whereby it was declared that this league was above all preceding leagues or treaties, that of the Confederation not even excepted. Pursuing the same unpatriotic policy, the Catholics in the following year allied themselves with Spain. The immediate result was the complete break-up of the old Swiss Confederation, which for a considerable time ceased to exist. Out of this ruin two new Confederations now arose, each with distinct interests, and having no feelings in common save those of the bitterest hate. Luzern was chosen as the Catholic capital, and Aarau, in Aargau, as the Protestant one.

A.D. 1587.

Appenzell, A.D. 1597.

Later on, in 1597, similar religious disputes broke up the unity of Appenzell, and two separate and hostile divisions took the place of the former state. These were called the *Inner*, or Catholic *Rhode*, and the *Outer*, or Protestant *Rhode*,[1] each sending a separate representative to the Diet. The loss of stability and power, due to the dissolution of national unity, soon showed its effects on the prosperity of the whole of Switzerland, and during the long struggle that followed, all civilisation and material progress came to a standstill, if they did not actually recede. Nominally, the deputies of the thirteen cantons continued to meet in general Diet, but all concerted action on Swiss national affairs was at an end.

Valais.

Up to this period Protestantism had made great

1 This curious Swiss word, which is still used, is derived from the German *rotte*, a band or troop, referring to the communes, or hundreds of the people. The Keltic is *reidh*, or *rodh*, meaning a field or district—(Obermüller).

headway in Vaud, and in the territories around Geneva, as also in Catholic Valais. Indeed so many of the people of the latter districts professed the Reformed doctrines, that in 1551, the Cantonal Diet proclaimed A.D. 1551. religious toleration to both parties. But the advent of the Jesuits and Capuchine monks, about the year 1600, A.D. 1600. brought about a strong reaction to the Catholic Faith, and now Valais also became divided into two hostile sections—the one, formed by the four upper divisions which supported and professed Catholicism, and the other, by the three lower ones that held to the Reformation. The mutual hatred and fanaticism of the two made hostilities appear inevitable, especially as the Protestants appealed to Henry IV. for help, and only the active mediation of the neutral Powers, indeed, prevented civil war. The religious struggles now changed into political ones, and a powerful party, styling itself the *Francspatriotes*, arose, which opposed A.D. 1604. the temporal authority of the clergy, and at last succeeded in effecting the expulsion of the missionary monks, and the establishment of Protestant pastors in their stead (1613), a result greatly due to the influence A.D. 1613. and support Henry IV. gave the Reformers, but shortly after the death of that monarch, in 1610, another reaction set in in favour of the old faith, chiefly through the help of the Catholic Cantons, supported by Spain and the Pope, and after many years of struggle, the Roman Catholic form of worship was once more made obligatory (1655).[1] A.D. 1655.

1 Among the people of the Valais, a curious custom is described by Vieusseux of rousing public opinion against unpopular local magnates. When they wanted to obtain from their lords redress of their grievances, they hoisted in the market-place

The close of the 16th century ends the heroic period of Switzerland's history, and opens that of her shame and degradation. The era immediately before the Reformation was far from being very honourable to the country, yet it was an age of unexhausted national vigour. The Reformation emancipated many thousands of the Swiss from the enslaving superstitions of a debased religion, but it created hatreds and every form of misery between those who should have lived in brotherly affection, and it shattered the fabric of Swiss unity. The history of the Swiss, from the beginning of their freedom to the overthrow of their ancient Eternal League, may be said to resemble their mountain heights, the base of which shows smiling and fertile fields and valleys, the middle region wild but majestic ridges, thence to the summit lifelessness and ruin—(Vögelin). During the next two centuries the picture of Switzerland's career affords neither pleasure nor interest, as hardly anything is seen save senseless local strifes, civil and religious wars, misery in every shape, and individual and national decay and death.

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an enormous club, one end of which was rudely carved into something resembling a human face, bearing an expression of woe, and crowned with thorns; this was called La Mazze, and was meant to represent oppressed justice. A man stood behind it, and the people came one after the other to ask of the Mazze what made it so sad? Was it such or such a lord, mentioning several, that had grieved it? When the particular noble or other person who caused the local grievances was named, the Mazze made an inclination of the head, and the attendant lifted it up and carried it from village to village, followed by the people. It was then proclaimed at every halting-place, that the Mazze was going to demand satisfaction of the grievances complained of, and thus the whole country was roused to a threatening attitude.

CHAPTER XV

THE GRAUBÜNDEN OR GRISONS

With the exception of the brief account of the early condition of Rhætia given in Chapter II. little has so far been said of the history of the eastern part of the modern Confederation. This is owing to that portion remaining to a great extent distinct from the rest of Switzerland, and taking no part in the events that occurred elsewhere. It is now proposed to take up the history of the Graubünden, or the Grisons as this section is called in French, as in the 15th century the districts comprising it for the first time emerged from their long obscurity and began to be important factors in Swiss affairs.

The topographical peculiarities of the Graubünden must never be lost sight of in all questions affecting their history, as these are very largely responsible for the social and political conditions of the people. Writing fifty years ago an anonymous critic of Swiss history made the following suggestive remark on this subject. "The scenery of Switzerland proper, with the exception of the lakes, does not bear away the prize for varied beauty from the vales of the Grisons, where nature has been lavish of her loftiest style of ornament. Rocky battlements frown upon the narrow path of the traveller, or indent the distant horizon with their fainter lines and outlines. Life or living thing haunts not their summits; sound and motion there are none but of the

glacier-stream from its icy reservoir, or the avalanche rolling in thunder over fissures and abysses, or the clouds that fleet or lower upon the breasts of the mountains, whose summits glitter high above their region in the sunlight. Lower down the Alpine meadows, spotted with flocks and shepherds' huts, repose in primitive stillness and simplicity. No suspicion penetrates these pastoral solitudes of the progress of human intellect, or the arts of modern luxury. Lower still lie smiling villages, half enveloped in thickets, cheerful country houses, with their pleasure grounds and vineyards, and scattered hamlets, seeming to mock the vicinage of the knightly towers whose ruins have frowned from their rocky sites for centuries. The modes of thought and degrees of civilisation in these highlands are as various as the features of their scenery. There are few countries of Europe in which circumstances have coincided to produce such a motley mixture of manners and of usages. The very form of the valleys, by which one set of inhabitants is divided from the rest as though in separate apartments, conduces not a little to the same effect. Local and communal rights oppose impediments to the setttlement of strangers, and the natives themselves are counted strangers in every valley but their own. Marriages are rare between inhabitants of distant valleys; and a certain set of habits and ideas, with their accompanying propensities and prejudices, are faithfully transmitted from one century to another."

So great, indeed, was the isolation of the people of the Graubünden from the neighbouring nations that, though geographically a portion of Switzerland, and politically united to her in 1497 by a treaty of alliance

between Chur and Zürich, it was not till the present century that they became formally incorporated into the Confederation. Neither was this isolation only confined to their relations with the outside world. In the 13th and 14th centuries the whole country was divided into separate and innumerable feudal districts, with separate interests, natural barriers, and different languages, and having no connecting link save the iron bond of savage oppression that united the mass of the people in a common fellowship of poverty and wretchedness. More than a century had elapsed since the Swiss achieved their freedom, yet the Rhætian peasants still groaned under the despotic rule of the numerous petty independent nobles, who treated them in a manner far harsher than had ever the Austrian masters governed the Helvetians. Like the latter, the people of Rhætia at last learnt the advantages and the absolute necessity of combination, and by so doing they also obtained their freedom and independence.

After the Roman and Allemanni wars Rhætia A.D. 529. became incorporated in the Swabian dukedom by the Franks (529). In 951 the Emperor, Otto I., A.D. 951. granted a certain measure of local independence by bestowing feudal rights on the Bishop of Chur over the town of that name and the neighbouring districts. Feudal nobles then took possession of large or small tracts of territory, overran the whole country, and built strongly fortified castles to protect their claims. So numerous were their strongholds, that, according to Guler, no region of equal size throughout Europe contained so many. "Perched up in their castles, built on lofty cliffs, they sallied thence, like birds of prey, scaring the poor shepherds and cultivators below,

and extorting from them the produce of the soil, insulting the chastity of their daughters, and disposing of the liberty and lives of their sons." During the 12th century the Rhætians (or, rather, the so-called *nobles*) received many important privileges from the Emperors, whose rule over them became less and
A.D. 1300. less, till, in the commencement of the 14th century, it practically ceased. At this period the whole country is seen under the government of a number of lay and clerical feudal lords, the records of whose atrocious cruelties towards the unfortunate peasantry make up the larger part of the history of the country till the time when the people shook off their bondage for ever. Revolts against the nobles were frequent, but sporadic, and these, owing to want of combination, almost invariably failed.

According to local chronicles, the peasants of Rhætia during many generations endured the most fearful oppression at the hands of their over-lords, by whom they were regarded pretty much in the light of the lower animals. Like the stories of the exploits of the early Waldstätten heroes, the names of many Graubünden peasants have been immortalised in prose and verse, and probably with as solid a foundation of truth. We read of a certain Baron of Vatz, who used to starve his prisoners in his castle dungeon and listen with satisfaction to their moans whilst sitting in the banqueting hall, and who, to try an experiment on the process of digestion, had three of his stewards ripped open some hours after their dinner — (Müller). Similar cases of fiendish callousness to the sufferings of others fill the early Rhætian records, but it will be sufficient to nar-

rate the two most celebrated only, from being those which are believed to have originated the freedom of the country. In these, two peasants, named Adam Carnogask and Johann Caldar, figure as the heroes. Of the former it is said that being ordered by his overlord to bring his young and beautiful daughter to the castle of Gardoval, Carnogask had her dressed as a bride and himself accompanied her to the presence of the noble. When the would-be seducer appeared and advanced to the girl, her enraged parent rushed upon him and buried his sword in his breast. In the confusion that resulted the intrepid peasants made good their escape, and so stirred the indignation of their neighbours that they rose in open revolt and burnt the tyrant's castle to the ground. This is believed to have been the commencement of the rising that brought about the emancipation of the Engadine. Of Johann Caldar it is chronicled that he was thrown, loaded with chains, into a subterranean dungeon by the Lord of Fardun for daring to drive out of his little field the noble's horses, which were eating the ripening crops. On the payment of a heavy fine Caldar was at last liberated, and one day, as he was sitting with his family at dinner, the noble entered his humble cottage. All rose and greeted him respectfully, but the only response was a haughty stare of contempt, which was further emphasised by his spitting in the soup and telling the poor people to begin their meal. Filled with righteous rage Caldar sprang upon his insolent master, and seizing him by the throat, forced his head into the boiling cauldron of soup, in which he held him till he expired. This act roused the surrounding peasants to destroy the feudal castle and all they could lay their

hands on belonging to the hated tyrant. Thenceforth the valley of Schams and the Rheinwald became free.

These, or other similar acts, brought the people to a knowledge of their own strength and the injustice under which they had so long remained passive victims, and in or about the year 1396, the inhabitants of many districts, following the example of the Waldstätten, banded themselves into little communities for mutual protection and support. Finding the increased power and personal liberty this step at once brought them, the peasants next formed alliances between different Communes, and later still between these and powerful nobles. But the most important forward move was made when the three Leagues came into existence known as the *Gottishaus* (House of God), the *Zehngerichten* (Ten Jurisdictions), and the *Grauerbund* (Grey League).

Early Unions, A.D. 1396.

During the latter half of the 14th century a widespread feeling of apprehension prevailed throughout Rhætia lest the country should fall under foreign rule, as had happened with the Tyrol, already annexed by Austria in 1366. The action of Austria was in great part due to the arbitrary interference with the domestic and political affairs of the Tyrolese by the Bishop of Chur. In order to escape a similar fate it was felt that means of concerted action on the part of a number of the different districts must be devised, and at the same time the Bishop's power of interference in civil matters limited. Accordingly, the peasant dependents of the Bishop of Chur living in the Oberhalstein and the Engadine, together with the lay and ecclesiastical inhabitants of Chur itself, formed themselves into a League, and solemnly swore to uphold

Gotteshausbund A.D. 1367.

and defend themselves and their Church from all outside attack. At the same time, they determined not to recognise or carry out any order emanating from the Bishop without previous mutual consultation in all matters of importance to themselves or their country. By these resolutions, though fully conceding to the Bishop the position of their spiritual and temporal lord, they insisted upon obtaining a share in the government. The compact constituted the earliest of the three Graubünden Leagues, and is known as the *Gotteshausbund* (League of God's House), or *Caddea* (Casa Dei), from the circumstance of those forming it being inhabitants of the numerous scattered domains in the Lower Rhætian Valleys of the Episcopal See. This League was further strengthened in 1404 by forming an alliance with Glarus, and in 1418 one with Zürich.

Grauerbund, A.D. 1424.

In 1424 the peasants of the northern valleys and many nobles of the Vorder Rhein districts and Upper Rhætia, as well as the Abbot of Dissentis, met together at Trons, and agreed to form a League amongst themselves. The place chosen for this important gathering was an open field outside the village, and there, standing in a circle round a gigantic maple tree, they one and all swore in the name of the Holy Trinity to form a perpetual alliance to support one another in all their individual rights and possessions.

This was the Grey League, or *Grauerbund*, from the formation of which the whole country took its name and ceased henceforth to be known as Rhætia.

The historical maple-tree that saw the birth of the *Grauerbund* was in existence up to the close of the last century, when it was destroyed during the French

invasion. The Grey League has given rise to many and conflicting theories as to the origin of its name. The most usually received explanation is, that the peasants who took part in the meeting wore *grey* woollen clothes. Others maintain that the Grey Leaguers were the ancient inhabitants of the country, hence the name as a mark of antiquity (*grey-beards*, as we say). The learned writer of the article "Switzerland" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," contends that the word is derived from *grawen* or *grafen*, as so many *Counts* took part in the formation of the Grey League, and that the name has nothing to do therefore with *grey*. According to Coxe *all* the people of Rhætia were called the *grey people*, and therefore when the important League of 1424 was formed, it was but natural it should receive a national designation. The application of the term long prior to 1424 is evidenced by its use by classical Roman writers. Tacitus refers to the people of Rhætia as *Rhætos griseos id est canos*, and Ammianus Marcellinus calls the districts around Chur, *canos campos*, or the Grey Fields—(Coxe).

Zehngerichten-bund, A.D. 1471

Following the example of the Northern and Southern valleys, the people of the Eastern districts bordering the Tyrol, on the death of the last Count of Toggenburg, also formed themselves into a League. This course was made necessary by the troubles that now arose touching the succession to the rights exercised by the deceased noble over the districts of Davos, Klosters, Shiers, Seewis, Mayenfeld, Belfort, Churwalden, Schaufigg and Prättigau. The representatives of these ten districts (hence the name *Zehngerichten*, or League of the Ten Jurisdictions) assembled and swore to observe an alliance, similar in its conditions to that

originated in the other Graubünden divisions. This League in spite of several of its constituent Communes falling into the hands of Austria and individual nobles, gave much greater freedom and prosperity to those composing it than they had before experienced.

Nationality, A.D. 1471.

The three Leagues, though they embraced the whole peasant population of the country, were yet distinct and without any connection. So they remained till 1471, when the first effort towards national unity was made. In this year, each League sent deputies to the village of Vazerol or Falzerol, where an alliance of mutual support was agreed to, and all three Leagues amalgamated into one Republic. In this change, every division retained its existing rights, customs, and mode of self-government. All matters of national importance were agreed to be submitted to the vote of the whole nation by deputies in a general assembly, and between the times of meeting of these assemblies, national government was entrusted to a Committee composed of the Presidents of each League.

Thus arose the federal system of the Graubünden, which, within a wonderfully short space of time, by means of its respective Leagues, brought freedom and prosperity to the country. Before these Leagues were formed, the mass of the people was little removed from slavery, a state of society in which the semi-barbarous nobles ruled thousands of unfortunate men and women as despotic and cruel masters, who regarded them in the light of beasts of burden, of hewers of wood, and drawers of water, whose bodies belonged to them by right in this world, and whose souls they could damn to all eternity in the next. From this state of abject

misery the peasants were raised to the condition of a powerful, united and free people, self-ruled by laws they themselves framed, and treated with respect and as equals by neighbouring states, possessing a far greater measure of civilisation and power.

Decentralisation.

In the Graubünden Republic, the principle of decentralisation formed the basis of the whole system. Every individual stood on an equal footing, with an equal voice and vote in all matters affecting his district or his country. Every little collection of families formed a hamlet, which in itself constituted a miniature republic, with its particular rights, laws, and privileges, and possessed of complete local self-government, under the presidency of an elected magistrate, called a *Curig*. A collection of several of these hamlets formed a Commune, where local self-government, without prejudice to the separate rights and laws of the hamlets, existed. Each Commune had its council and courts, and its leader, or Amman, who represented the district in the Diets, and was the executive officer of the laws the people prepared and passed. It was by the amalgamation of these Communes that each of the three Leagues was formed, which again had its special laws, its special banner, and its special chief.

Nowhere, through the whole range of history, is it possible to find a country where the democratic principle was more thoroughly applied than in the case of the little Graubünden Republic, or where the good and bad results of that principle have been more thoroughly demonstrated. Its good effects we have already seen, in the emancipation it gave the people from the bondage of the nobles, in the unity it brought about between men indifferent, if not hostile, to one

another, and in the great impulse it gave to national and individual prosperity.

We must now turn from the bright side of the picture, and glance at its other aspect, to trace the evil effects the system eventuated.

The absence of a common foe, whose presence created the necessity of unity, left the people free to submit to the promptings of their very imperfectly educated human nature. Soon after the establishment of independence, jealousies, diverging local interests, and the difference of race, religion and language, made the newly-formed nationality lose its cohesion, and, at last, split up into innumerable petty divisions. In considering this lamentable breakdown of a system that certainly commends itself theoretically as the ideal form of government, it must be remembered that nothing of the nature of true homogeneity really existed among the people. Racial and local differences, coupled with the workings of an intolerant religious fanaticism among men still in their infancy as regards intellectual development, were factors that must effectually have prevented any feeling of national cohesion becoming permanent, in the absence of an apparent common danger or vital bond of union.

Language.

Three principal tongues were spoken in the country, German and Italian, and the Romansh and Ladin dialects. German prevailed throughout nearly every part of the *Zehngerichten* districts, in those of the *Grauerbund* at Splugen, Cepina and other parts of the Rheinwald, at Tusis, Rheichenau, Valts, etc., and in the *Gotteshausbund* at Avers, Chur, and in some few small villages. Italian, resembling very closely the dialect of the Milanese, was spoken by the people of Puschiavo

and Pregalio, as by those of the valleys of Masox and Calanca. Romansh or Arumanunsh (a dialect derived from the Latin through the Lingua Romana) was the vernacular among the greater part of the Graubünden people. It consists of two chief dialects, that spoken in the *Grauerbund* districts, and that in the Engadine known as Ladin.[1]

Religion.

After the introduction of the Reformation, religion here, as elsewhere, brought disunion and strife in lieu of peace and concord, and soon divided the whole country into two hostile and persecuting factions.

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1 "Classical scholars who travel among the Grisons, will, from the frequent occurrence of Latin appellations, believe that they are journeying through Latrium, Etruria, and Campania. They will trace the ancient names of *Ardeates*, *Vittones*, *Sentinates*, *Samnites*, in *Ardets*, *Vettau*, *Sent*, and *Samnun*. They will encounter mount *Umbria*, the river *Albula*, the towns of *Antium*, *Susa*, *Lavinium*, *Tutium*, *Sceptia*, *Silium*, *Cernetia*, and many others; derivations so obvious and so often occurring evidently tell their origin"—(Aporta).

The celebrated Graubünden scholar, statesman, soldier and linguist, John Travers (1483-1560), was the first to write on Romansh. This eminent man received his education at Munich, and after travelling over Europe for fifteen years returned to his native town, Zutz, in the Engadine. He wrote many sermons and dramas in verse, and composed a poem describing the war of Murson, which war his ability was chiefly instrumental in bringing to an end. He much assisted the cause of the Reformation, and was the recipient of the greatest esteem and the highest offices his grateful country could bestow. In 1534, Philip Salutz, one of the earliest reformers, translated the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Decalogue into Latin. The celebrated Tutsch was, in 1560, the first to print in Romansh, all the preceding books having circulated in MS. He published a work containing the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, etc. This was followed by a translation of the New Testament. The first version of the whole Bible in Ladin was printed in 1679 at Schol, and that in the Romansh of the Grey Leaguers in 1718 at Chur. This latter Bible was dedicated to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II.—(Coxe).

Evangelical doctrines were first preached and received about 1524, at Flœsh in the *Zehngerichten* districts, thence spreading to Mayerfield, Malans and the whole Prättigau valley, and before the close of the century were embraced by nearly all the *Zehngerichten*, the greater number of the *Gotteshausbund*, and a few Communes of the *Grauerbund*. The great differences and the mutual hatred and persecution that at once sprang up between the adherents of the old and the new form of faith led to many serious conflicts, and much general misery, but these troubles were eventually somewhat abated by an agreement that every Commune should be at liberty to choose, by a majority vote, its own religion. A.D. 1524.

The religious factions in time gradually merged into three principal political parties, led for several generations by members of three prominent families, from whom each took its name. The rise of these political parties was principally due to the interest the great Powers began to take in the Graubünden. *Political Parties.*

The result of the battle of Pavia gave Spain possession of the Northern districts of Italy. As her interests were identical with those of Austria, it became necessary for her to command the free passage of the Graubünden territory of the Val Tellina, if she were to keep up her connections with Austria. Hence every effort, chiefly by bribes and lavish promises, was made by the Spanish envoys to form a party favourable to their designs. This became known as the *Planta*, in consequence of having usually a member of the family of that name as its head. Against this the *Salis* arose representing the interests of the French, the bitter enemies of Spain, Austria, and intolerant Roman Catholicism. A third faction, the *Traves*, upheld the

political designs of Venice, whilst a fourth, the *Neutral* or *National*, rejecting all foreign complications, professed to rely on the people of the Graubünden alone, holding that an alliance between a powerful and a weak nation meant little else than slavery for the latter.

Val Tellina. The Val Tellina, the important district connecting Austria and Milan, possession of which Spain, Austria and France used every means to obtain, is a fertile valley some 50 miles in length, enclosed between two high mountain ranges, to the South of the Rhætian Alps. It is watered throughout its whole length by the Adda, and embraces the large towns and districts of Bormio and Chiavenna at either extremity. In 1336 it came under the rule of the Dukes of Milan, and in the commencement of the 15th century was ceded to the Bishop of Chur. The people, however, were strongly opposed to their new lord, and carried their opposition sufficiently far to remain for long in a condition of semi-independence.

A.D. 1512. In 1512 the Val Tellina, together with the whole Milanese, was captured by Louis XII.; but the French were soon after expelled by the Graubünden peasants, who entered the valley and were everywhere victorious. Coming as liberators, the mountaineers remained as masters, and took the country for themselves and the Bishop of Chur. Two years later this change was formally acquiesced in by the Duke of Milan, as also by the French king, in his treaty with the Swiss
A.D. 1516. and their allies (1516).

A.D. 1530. In 1530 the Graubünden Leagues compelled the Bishop to sell them his share of the Val Tellina districts, and henceforth the former alone ruled the valley. In their government the newly emancipated peasants

showed themselves cruel and tyrannical masters, with little regard for their subjects' welfare, or for those principles of liberty they themselves had done so much to obtain. The province was placed under Governors, whose harshness, exactions, and unscrupulous conduct gave rise to great discontent and misery, and frequent, but unsuccessful, revolts.

In spite of the feeling of their subject-territory against them, the Graubünden maintained their rule without hindrance, until the fanatical bigotry of both religious sections, the arbitrary exactions of the local governors, and the clashing interests of France, Spain, and the Pope, brought about an insurrection, inaugurated by a general massacre of the Protestants, that lasted for a series of years with savage fury.

Such, in general outline, was the condition of the Graubünden up to the middle of the 16th century, when, divided by political and religious schisms, their appearance pointed to the speedy collapse of their republic, and the downfall of their national unity.

Civil War, A.D. 1565

The recriminations and collisions of the two chief political parties, the *Planta* and the *Salis*, rapidly assumed a threatening aspect for the peace of the country, and at length, in 1565, actual civil war broke out, and was maintained, with varying fortune, for a considerable time. In order to give an air of judicial authority to their nefarious proceedings, each party established a criminal tribunal that, with monotonous regularity, condemned those who fell into its power to imprisonment, fine, exile, or death. Among the *Planta* party religious hatred and persecution were kept alive by a band of Jesuit and Capuchine missionaries, who roused the adherents of Romanism and of Spain against their

opponents, especially directing their labours to the people of the Val Tellina. In the latter territory, where a Jesuit college was already established, the Italian and Catholic element greatly preponderated, and here very widespread hatred of the Graubünden rule existed. On the other hand, the Evangelical ministers were equally energetic in supporting the *Salis* faction, and in denouncing the Spanish and Catholic intrigues, and openly accused their opponents of preparing a second St. Bartholomew for the wholesale massacre of the Protestants, an accusation that was too fatally verified.

A.D. 1574. This suicidal policy continued till 1574, when matters became so serious that the Swiss Confederates thought it time to interfere. By their efforts, a rest for the unhappy country was procured, a rest that in those troublous times must be looked upon as of very exceptional length (1574-1602). The unity of the Leagues was once more established, and the authority of the united Diet became again recognised. In 1553 the power and influence of Carlo Borromeo to a great extent succeeded in re-establishing the Catholic form of faith, though the Cardinal himself was prevented from visiting the country.

A.D. 1603. After this short interval of suppressed strife, if not of absolute repose, fresh troubles broke out in 1603. These arose from the formation of an alliance between a number of the dissatisfied peasants and Venice, and the intrigues of Spain nearly succeeded in bringing about an alliance with that country also. In revenge for this failure, and in order to impress the Graubünden with the power of his nation, the Spanish Governor of Milan, Count Fuentes, built a formidable fortress at

Montecchio, and named it after himself. From this fortress the Spaniards would be able to pour into the Val Tellina on an emergency; it also formed a central point whence Spanish emissaries could enter the country to agitate among the people.[1] Great indignation at the erection of the stronghold broke out throughout the Graubünden, and brought on a general rising against the Spaniards and their supporters. Many A.D. 1607. scenes of savage brutality quickly followed, not the least of which were done under the guise of legal acts against persons accused of treasonable practice.

Civil War, A.D. 1616.

And now civil war, long imminent, once more broke out, and soon undid the little good the previous half-peace afforded the country. After many encounters between the rival *Planta* and *Salis* factions the latter obtained the ascendency. Through the efforts of a number of Protestant pastors, led by an ambitious, dissolute, but withal brave and patriotic minister named Jénatsch, a judicial tribunal was established at Tusis, which issued many and severe sentences against the leaders of the opposite party, and condemned many, often upon the slightest evidence, to exile, imprisonment and death. Among other arbitrary acts of cruelty inspired by bigotry and revenge, this tribunal distinguished itself by the seizure, torture and imprisonment of the venerable chief priest of Sondrio,

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1 Referring to the building of this fort, Henry IV. of France is reported to have said, "Il veut du meme noend serrer la gaige de l' Italie et les pieds aux Grisons." The fort stood on a rocky prominence about a mile from the Lake of Como, being surrounded by marshy and pestilential fields. In consequence of its position the Spaniards were accustomed to refer to it as the *Yoke* of the Grisons, whilst the latter, in allusion to its malarial surroundings, termed it the *Grave* of the Spaniards.

Nicholas Rusca, together with the Amman of Bregell and many others, and condemned the two brothers Planta to forfeiture of all their possessions, and to perpetual banishment.[1]

Civil strife also raged all through the several districts of the Engadine, and only after many victims were sacrificed and immense damage done to property was peace restored. This took place through the intervention of the *Neutrals*, who established a tribunal for the trial of civil and criminal offences that soon superseded that of the Protestant parties at Tusis. A further attempt to make peace was tried by the recall of the exiled Plantas and other Catholic leaders.

A.D. 1619. Moderation, however, was not appreciated in an age when extreme measures involving strife and bloodshed were regarded as the only practical methods of settling important questions. The people of Davos and the Engadine generally rose against the authority of the tribunal of the *Neutrals*, and established in its stead another at Davos, which, not content with upholding the acts of the Protestant Court at Tusis, issued still more severe sentences against the Catholics. The

1 This tribunal, which was known as *Strafgericht*, was held nominally for the trial of persons holding correspondence with Spanish agents, or acting in such a way as to subvert the Reformed Faith. In the case of Rusca, the old man had already been tried and acquitted in his absence for alleged participation in an attempt to assassinate the Protestant pastor of Sondrio in the Val Tellina, but was afterwards secretly seized by a troop of soldiers, and taken to Tusis, where he died under the torments of the torture. The usual mode of torture consisted in drawing the victim up a number of times by a pulley attached to his arms. Each suspension lasted about half-an-hour, and, as the wrists were tied behind the back, dislocation of both shoulders usually resulted, with consequent intense suffering.

exiles were a second time proscribed, and every Spaniard or Catholic adherent that could be found was dealt with in the harshest manner, even the friendly French Ambassador being compelled to quit the country.

Meanwhile the energetic brothers, Rudolph and Pompey Planta, maddened by the treatment they received from their countrymen, were engaged in enrolling an army of their co-religionists from the Graubünden, as well as in Austria and Italy. With this motley horde they descended upon the Val Tellina where the peasants gladly welcomed them, hoping with their aid to shake off the yoke of their cruel masters. This, however, was not the intention of the Plantas, whose sole object was to revenge themselves upon their Protestant compatriots for the many indignities and losses they had suffered at their hands. Taking Tirano as the first point of attack they surrounded it, and after fourteen days' siege, carried it by assault. Then followed the most savage scenes of butchery and brutality that ever disgraced this ever-miserable valley. Both in the town and in the neighbouring villages, the Protestants were destroyed wholesale, neither sex nor age staying the hideous work of the pitiless invaders. The head of one pastor was brought into his own church, stuck on the pulpit, and mocked at with the same words as those used towards the crucified Christ. At Teglio, the Protestants having taken refuge in their chapel, their assailants climbed up to the windows and shot down many within, and then, forcing the doors, killed the remainder with every device that fanatical savagery could suggest. The whole of the fruitful valley was now literally drenched with the blood of slaughtered thousands. "Some were thrown out of

windows, shot, strangled or burnt, many were flayed alive, others had their eyes put out, others again were beaten to death with sticks, torn to pieces, beheaded, or mutilated in various ways." These and similar scenes were enacted in many other centres of the Val Tellina in which it is estimated that 5,000 victims were sacrificed at the bloody orgies of this second St. Bartholomew. When no more Protestants were left to slay, the victors seized the government and declared the valley an independent territory.

At the news of these terrible events the whole Graubünden, as well as other Protestant countries, was filled with righteous indignation that soon threatened to lead to serious and widespread troubles by war against the perpetrators of the massacre, as also against those who had helped or encouraged them.

The *Zehngerichten* and the *Gotteshausbund* at once despatched a force of 2,000 men to the Val Tellina. In this they were not only not assisted, but actually opposed by the people of the *Grauerbund*, whose strong Catholic sympathies prevented them from attacking their co-religionists. Arrived in the blood-drenched valley, the revenging army found themselves opposed by large masses of Austrian and Italian soldiers, who promptly mustered from the north and south to the help of the revolted provinces. Considering themselves quite unable to engage this formidable array, the Graubünden troops retired to await the help of their Swiss confederates, to whom they had sent urgent messages for aid at the first news of the massacre. In Switzerland also, religious feeling prevented united action, as, although Bern and Zürich sent 3,000 men, the Catholic Cantons refused all co-operation in the campaign, and

endeavoured to impede the march of the Protestants towards the frontiers. After making several tedious detours, the Swiss contingent joined that of the Ligues, and reached Tirano. Here a long and stubbornly-fought battle took place, that resulted at last in the almost total annihilation of the allied forces (September 11th, 1620). This serious disaster to the Protestant arms emboldened the *Grauerbund* (where Pompey Planta was now installed as chief) to separate itself completely from the other two leagues, and to declare openly its long-projected scheme of persuading the Catholic majority of the Swiss Diet to admit it as a separate state of the Confederation. By this it hoped to become the sole possessor of the much coveted Val Tellina districts, and with this object an alliance with Spain was shortly after made.

Battle of Tirano, Sept., 1620.

But the formal attempt to break up national unity at once caused a general reaction in favour of the *status quo*. The feeling spread with extraordinary rapidity, and appeared as strongly in the *Grauerbund* districts as in the more Protestant parts of the country. Borne on this popular wave of nationality, an urgent appeal for help was carried to the French king, whose ambassador was begged to re-enter Chur. Such an appeal exactly suited French policy, as it afforded an opportunity of preventing the Austrians from permanently establishing an open way of communication with North Italy. But for the moment events elsewhere interfered with France actively engaging in the struggle.

During this serious crisis in the affairs of the Graubünden a new party sprang to life, with the object of saving the unhappy country from ruin and dismemberment. This party was headed by the redoubtable pastor, Jénatsch, who since his first appearance at

Tusis had never ceased to play a prominent *rôle* in the stormy affairs of his time. Jénatsch inaugurated the reign of peace and prosperity he and his followers proposed to establish, by secretly surprising with a few comrades Pompey Planta, in the castle of Rietberg, A.D. 1621. and himself killing the chief of the Catholic faction (February 25th). After committing his deliberate murder, Jénatsch collected a large force and attacked the Catholics near Vallenda. Here a long and terribly sanguinary battle ended in the Catholics being completely routed and compelled to retreat over the mountains and enter Swiss territory. One important result of this victory was the withdrawal of the *Grauerbund* from the Spanish Alliance. Still the Val Tellina remained under the protection, if not the rule of Austria, and in order to put an end to this foreign aggression, Jénatsch, now the leader of a large army, led his forces into the disputed territory at the same time that an Austrian force was entering the Graubünden through the Tyrol, and an Italian one was marching into the Val Tellina. Everywhere fortune declared in favour *October.* of the invaders, who carried all before them. After conquering the districts of the *Zehngerichten*, and taking possession of the Prättigau, over which they possessed certain feudal rights,[1] the Austrians compelled the people to take an oath of fealty to them, and established an absolute rule over them that for cruelty and reckless

1 These rights were not acquired by the Graubünden till 1649-52, and only then by purchase. This affords a striking instance of the hold that feudal rights maintained in men's minds in former days, even over the Graubünden peasants, who had already sacrificed so many thousands of their lives against the system.

brutality it would be difficult to find a parallel. In the Val Tellina success also followed the Catholic armies, and Jénatsch was decisively defeated. The Catholic religion was now established and rigorously enforced by the civil and clerical authorities, aided by the Inquisition, and soon the condition of the hapless remnant of the peasantry that war and famine had spared was wretched in the extreme.

But not for long was the grinding rule of the Austrians allowed to continue undisturbed. The accumulated and daily increasing miseries of the unhappy peasants induced such a feeling of revenge that, deprived though they were of all defensive weapons, they determined to risk everything in one despairing effort to regain their liberty. Banding themselves into companies, the people met for drill and consultation in the depths of the forests, whither numbers had been driven from their homes and where they were forced to live like animals. At last the time was deemed ripe for action. A.D. 1622. Out of the forests rushed the bands of half-starved and reckless peasants, armed only with knives and clubs, and attacked their Austrian masters with all the fury of famished wolves. So great was the courage of these heroic men, and so unexpected the assault, that many hundreds of their cruel oppressors were at once killed and the rest put to complete rout. After their victory the conquerors marched on Chur, then garrisoned by the flower of the invaders' army. This brilliant success roused the mass of the peasants, especially those of the *Zehngerichten* districts, from the torpor of despair into which they had sunk. All over the country fighting bands were formed to expel the foreigners, with the active sympathy and help of many of the Swiss

Protestants. Everywhere the Austrians were attacked, and everywhere they were defeated. An irresistible storm of patriotism and unity swept over the Graubünden. Chur was captured and the country was free (May).

But with an energy worthy of a better cause, within a few months after their expulsion the Austrians collected an army of 10,000 well-armed men and, invading the country, once more commenced a struggle for supremacy. Many and sanguinary were the battles fought, fortune favouring with cynical impartiality, first one side and then the other. By both invaders and defenders the contest was carried on with the most terrible ferocity, and when quarter was given on the battle-field, it was only in order to submit the miserable prisoners to every species of frightful torture a perverted and blood-thirsty ingenuity could devise. The whole land writhed and shrieked in the throes of a man-created hell, filled with blood, famine, pestilence and death.

Reduced to the last extremity, deserted by the Swiss Protestants, the hopes of the Graubünden appeared absolutely lost, when, just as they had made their final unsuccessful and dying effort, the longed-for succour from France came to save the remnants of the people from total destruction. A formidable French army now entered the Graubünden, under the command of the Duc de Rohan, and numbering in its ranks many exiles who earlier had led the people, amongst others, Jénatsch and Rudolph Salis. This action of Louis XII., or rather of his all-powerful minister, Cardinal Richelieu, was dictated entirely by motives of self-interest and
A.D. 1624. aggrandisement, and not from either religious sympathy or compassion for the woes of the Graubünden people.

The French occupation was effected without any serious check, the Austrians and Spaniards were expelled from every quarter, and once more the country was freed. But this freedom simply meant a change of masters, as A.D. 1625. the French were not inclined to leave lightly the footing they had obtained. By a secret treaty, concluded between France and Spain, the interests of the Graubünden were so little considered that no obligation was imposed on the Val Tellina districts to render them subject to the the Leagues, beyond the payment of an annual tribute (March, 1626). Further, the Catholic religion was A.D. 1626. again established and the guardianship of the province entrusted to soldiers of the Pope.

Three years later, on a side issue of succession, A.D. 1629. war again broke out between France and Austria, and the Duke's troops occupied a portion of the Graubünden, which they only evacuated after the decisive success of the French in Italy. At last, in 1631, A.D. 1631. peace was restored by the Treaty of Chevases.

Finding themselves once more masters of their country, the Leagues threw themselves with energy into the task of re-conquering the Val Tellina. In this enterprise they chose as their leaders the Duc de Rohan, the then French Ambassador, and the ever active Jénatsch. The conquest was only effected after many sanguinary battles and the destruction of many towns and villages. Destiny appeared to have specially determined to destroy the many gifts Nature had so lavishly bestowed on this district by making it the constant battle-field of contending nations, who deluged its fruitful fields with the blood of thousands of the slaughtered victims of ambition, passion and religious bigotry. No sooner was the Graubünden rule re-

established than the Duc de Rohan received an order from his King to seize the Val Tellina for France. But rather than obey this treacherous mandate the late Graubünden leader resigned his position. Others, with less sensitive consciences, succeeded the Duke, and war again broke out.

Under the command of Jénatsch the Leagues mustered in force, attacked the French, who greatly outnumbered them, and eventually drove their late
A.D. 1637. allies from every district in the disputed territory. This brilliant feat was due almost entirely to the marvellous personal influence, prowess and ability of the soldier, pastor, and patriot-leader, Jénatsch. The wonderful and romantic career of this extraordinary man was brought to a close two years later in a manner well in accord with his tempestuous life. One evening, being at a ball, a member of the company, a relation of the murdered Planta, recognised him and stabbed him whilst in the act of dancing. Planta's revenger was himself killed in a popular riot in the following year.

By the expulsion of the French the independence of the Graubünden revived on a solid foundation as regards immunity from foreign aggression. This independence was formally acknowledged by both the Austrians and the Spaniards, as was also the Leaguers' claims to the possession of the Val Tellina, through which district the right of passing troops was conceded to the Austrians and Spaniards in revenge for the treacherous conduct of the French. For many years, after all foreign foes had ceased to trouble the Graubünden the country continued to be the scene of constant political, religious and family feuds, resulting in

much bloodshed and destruction of property. During these troubles men bearing the name of Planta often crop up on either side, and not seldom a Planta is found opposed to a Planta as leader in opposite interests.

CHAPTER XVI

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS WARS

A.D. 1618. WHILST the people of the Graubünden were engaged in their suicidal struggles the Swiss Confederates were carrying on a similar policy, though with not such immediately fatal results. The general condition of Switzerland during this period was most deplorable. Around her frontiers a sanguinary war was raging between the great European Powers, whilst within the cantons almost all civil progress was at a standstill from the religious and political feuds that everywhere crippled the national and domestic life of the people, and preventing all unity and concerted action. Indeed, so great was the universal strife that a total break-up of the Confederation appeared every year more imminent.

To their own troubles the active intrigues of foreign envoys added an ever-present source of contention. As a body, the Swiss Catholics sided with Spain and Austria, from whom they received subsidies, and to whose armies they furnished large contingents of troops, whilst between the Protestants, France, and Venice similar bonds of sympathy existed.

During this period it has been computed that no less than 25,000 Swiss mercenaries served under the banners of the contending Powers.

Common Bailiwicks.

The control and management of the so-called Free-Bailiwicks, under the conjoint rule of separate and antagonistic states, proved another very fruitful source of discord. Nominally possessing religious freedom, active persecution, resulting in disturbances, always broke out when any particular Governor was of a different religious belief to that of the majority under his rule. These disturbances were greatly fostered, and often created, by the interference of the Catholic and Protestant ecclesiastics and leaders of the neighbouring cantons, who actively espoused the cause of their co-religionists. At last, in 1662, an attempt was made to bring about a *modus vivendi* in the Bailiwicks by the establishment at Baden of a Court of Arbitration, the decisions of which were guaranteed by all the cantons. This Court, though at first partially successful in its object, soon lost its influence, and its authority became practically useless.

A.D. 1662.

Thirty Years War, A.D. 1618-48.

During the terrible period of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), when the great European Powers did their best to convert the countries around Switzerland into blood-drenched deserts,[1] every effort was made by the belligerents to induce the Confederates to assist openly one or other of them. Though loudly professing

Swiss Neutrality.

1 The slaughter and desolation caused by the demoniacal savagery of the Thirty Years' War are difficult to realise in all their magnitude, in the present period of portentous prophesies concerning the stupendous butchery that will take place when the next great European struggle comes, with modern weapons of precision and modern explosives. In population and material well-being that pitiless war threw back Germany for at least two centuries, and cost her four-fifths of her people—(Pearson). "Würtemberg, which before had a population of half-a-million, was reduced, after the battle of Nordlingen, to 46,000"—(Niebuhr).

their determination to maintain the neutrality of their country, both the Catholics and Protestants of Switzerland on several occasions assisted or connived at its violation. At the commencement of hostilities the fear of invasion brought about a semblance of national unity, but as the war progressed this unity soon dissolved, as was well seen when the Swiss-allied towns of Mulhausen and Rottweil were threatened by the Swedes and Austrians. Solothurn, in this emergency, not only refused the passage of her districts to the troops of Zürich and Bern, who were hastening to the assistance of Mulhausen, but attacked and killed a
A.D. 1634. number of her fellow-countrymen. In 1634 a Zürich force on guard in Thurgau allowed a Swedish army to pass through Stein in order to surprise the Austrian garrison of Constanz. The Catholics at once seized on this act to hurl denunciations of treachery against the Protestants, whom they charged with sacrificing the national interests in order to favour their foreign co-religionists. The force of the disinterestedness of this patriotic outburst was, however, considerably lessened by the Catholics themselves in the following year entering into a secret treaty with Spain and Austria to give the troops of those Powers the right of marching through Swiss territory. In the vicinity of Schaffhausen the Imperialists crossed the frontier, and in spite of the half-hearted resistance of Zürich, the villages of Altdorf, Bargen, Schleitheim, and others were pillaged or destroyed. In the Basel districts the Austrians completely set at naught Swiss authority, and crossed the frontier as often as they thought fit. The town of Porrentruy was captured and retaken by the different parties no less than four times between the years 1634

and 1637, and here some of the most terrible horrors of the war were perpetrated. Another of the many evil results to Switzerland from the protracted struggle was the flooding of the country with swarms of adventurous scoundrels and deserters from one or other of the contending armies. Many were criminals, all were beggars, whose interests lay in fostering disturbances and lessening local authority. So great became the nuisance that at last the cantons were compelled to resort to very energetic measures for its suppression. At Bremgarten alone in a single year nearly 250 of these unwelcome invaders were condemned to death. A.D. 1637.

When, in 1648, the bloody contest was ended by the Treaty of Westphalia, Switzerland obtained a formal recognition of her independence. This, however, was of but slight political importance, as she for many years past ceased to own any practical allegiance to Germany, and only in the previous year the Emperor himself publicly acknowledged her national freedom. Thus, though Switzerland succeeded by her own heroic efforts in virtually freeing herself from the yoke of the German Empire and becoming an independent European State, she yet "offers, perhaps, the single example of a country, the political self-existence of which had never been acknowledged till the energetic epochs of that existence had been long past, and till it no longer possessed strength to defend, without the aid of foreigners, its tardily acknowledged independence"—(Lardner). Political emancipation, far from conferring great benefits on the country, merely added fresh matters for renewed dissensions to the already overflowing cup of Switzerland's domestic misfortunes. *Peace of Westphalia*, A.D. 1648.

Though theoretically governed by Republican prin-

ciples, the rulers in many centres soon began to exercise despotic powers. Assuming to themselves the increased dignity conferred on their country by the Treaty of Westphalia, they showed an intolerant arrogance and autocratic tone towards their less fortunate fellows totally at variance with ancient rights and customs, a state of things that boded ill for the cause of prosperity and peace. By a gradual process of centralisation many governing bodies succeeded in getting great power into the hands of a few wealthy and influential families, who strove to make their functions hereditary, and to reduce the people to a state similar to that which existed in the days of dominant feudalism. By the imposition of heavy and new taxes, the creating of Government monopolies, numerous irritating and often exceedingly unjust laws, and the harsh and unscrupulous conduct of corrupt local authorities, great discontent was created, and threatenings of revolt appeared in many parts of the country. In striking contrast to the lamentable condition of the greater part of Switzerland was the state of the smaller cantons, especially of Uri, Schwyx and Unterwalden. Here great personal liberty had always existed, and the people themselves, through their general assemblies—*Landsgemeinden*—exercised sovereign power. Without the sanction of their popular meetings no new laws could be made, no new taxes imposed. The parent cantons of the Confederation retained, amidst the turmoil that harassed the land, their primitive and democratic privileges, even as they retained in its purest form the ancient faith of their fathers, and refused to adopt the Reformed doctrines.

The great influx of moneyed refugees who sought shelter in Switzerland during the troubles of the Thirty

Years' War greatly altered the social and economical conditions of the country. With their advent, a period of inflation set in, land considerably rose in value, as did house property and the necessaries and luxuries of life. After the peace, these temporary residents returned to their own homes taking with them their goods and their money, and thus suddenly left a good deal of land and other property to revert to the original owners. Prices accordingly fell, and all classes of society suffered.

At last, the ever-increasing poverty, the constantly newly-imposed taxes, and the harsh and supercilious conduct of the authorities, led to local risings that lit up the flame of insurrection over a very large portion of Switzerland. The first serious revolt took place in 1653, in the ranks of the freedom-loving people of the Entlibuch, a valley subject to Luzern. Here the people collected in large numbers, under the leadership of the Communal *Bannerherr*, Johann Emmenegger, and set about devising measures for the bettering of their positions. At first, peaceable means were tried by sending a deputation to the capital to represent the grievances that pressed most heavily upon them. To the peasant deputies the Luzern authorities only vouchsafed a short interview, and after refusing all compromise, ordered them to return and at once submit to the laws. Irritated by this treatment, the Communes proceeded to retaliatory actions, and forcibly expelled all the Luzern officials from their villages. A mass meeting of the inhabitants of the neighbouring Communes was then held under the presidency of Emmenegger, at the mountain village of Heiliger-Kreuz, when those present took an oath

Rising in Luzern, A.D. 1653.

to resist all unjust laws and orders imposed upon them by the capital, and to support one another in their efforts to obtain justice. This meeting roused Luzern to the gravity of the situation, and as a measure of expediency she despatched the city *Avoyer*, Ulric Dulliker, with several influential magistrates and Church dignitaries, to the disaffected districts to attempt to calm the people, now in a state of open revolt (January). On February 15th, a conference took place in the church of Schüpfheim, where 1,400 armed peasants assembled under the command of three leading men, Hintervoli, Unternäher and Stadelmann, dressed in the traditional costumes of the heroes of Rütli, and surnamed the "Three Tells." In spite of an eloquent appeal to submit, in which Dulliker quoted the words of St. Paul on the duty of obedience to the powers that be, the conference closed without the desired result, as the Luzern authorities absolutely refused all concessions or compromise. Shortly afterwards, ten out of the fourteen Bailiwicks in Canton Luzern formally took an oath at Willisau to support one another in the coming struggle. From Luzern the movement spread rapidly to the Emmenthal, Oberland and Aargau, where the arbitrary rule of Bern had long made the people ready to revolt. Encouraged by the presence of some fifteen hundred sympathisers from Bern and Solothurn, the hardy peasants of the Luzern Communes prepared to attack the capital itself, but an addition of four hundred men from the Waldstätten to its garrison, and the peremptory command of the Confederate Diet (then sitting at Baden) to submit, suddenly checked the progress of the revolt, by inducing the peasants of Aargau, Solothurn, Emmenthal, and the

Peasants' War, A.D. 1653.

Communes in the immediate vicinity of Luzern, to desert the cause of their comrades, and make terms with the authorities, who, with more wisdom than they had formerly shown, granted several important concessions. Just, however, when the whole movement appeared on the point of collapsing, another and sudden but much more formidable wave of rebellion spread through the disaffected districts, and in nearly every village a perfect storm of enthusiasm for the cause of freedom carried away the waverers, and united the whole mass of the peasants in a common bond. This bond was then solemnly sworn to at Sumiswald, in the Emmenthal (April 23rd), and a countryman named Leuenberger, a man possessing great military talents and much personal influence, was appointed to the chief command. With him were also associated as chiefs, Emmenegger and a popular leader named Schybi. The rebellion now assumed formidable proportions, and frequent drillings were organised and arms collected. But though formidable in numbers, the peasants were badly supplied with weapons and possessed little real cohesion and discipline. Many of their first acts, which were characterised by great cruelty[1] and the wanton destruction of the property of those who would not actively join them, estranged the

1 In one of the Basel districts it is recorded that a man was forced to hold his ear after that appendage had been cut off by the rebels, who told him he was now an "ear-bearer" (a tale-bearer, in reference to the belief that the victim had given information to the Government). Others had their beards and ears chopped off, or were otherwise mutilated, while a favourite form of torture consisted in rubbing off the hair of the head and portions of the scalp by holding the victims' heads against rapidly revolving grind-stones, in order to "harden them."

support of many sympathisers, and their attempt to enlist the aid of the French raised hosts of indignant protests. Meanwhile, the threatened authorities were far from idle. Luzern, Bern, Basel and Zürich combined their forces, amounting to nearly 20,000 men, and these were presently joined by a strong contingent of the freedom-loving but conservative Waldstätten. The beginning of hostilities proved favourable to the peasants, who under the leadership of Leuenberger, succeeded in appearing suddenly in great force before Bern, where the Council, fearing lest the town should be taken, came to terms and negotiated a truce (May 5th). This pause, however, owing to mutual distrust, lasted but a few days, and then for some unknown reason, Leuenberger marched his forces into Aargau, where at Wohlenschwyl he was met and badly beaten by the troops of Zürich under Werdmüller (June 3rd). So crushing indeed was this victory, that the remnant of the peasant army became completely demoralised, and the greater number laid down their arms and returned to their homes—(Daguet). Another and still more decisive reverse for the peasants' cause took place at Herzogenbuchsee, where the Bernese, under Sigismund von Erlach, totally defeated the rebels and took most of their leaders, including Leuenberger, prisoners. A succession of similar victories for the authorities rapidly followed, and finally, when the Luzern peasants, who held out longest, were no longer able to continue the struggle, the "Peasants' War" came to an end (July).

Generosity towards defeated foes seldom figures as a characteristic of the Swiss people, and still more seldom when the vanquished are themselves Swiss. On

this occasion, as so often before, when the Confederates had, by their tactical skill and courage, thoroughly re-established their authority over their revolted subjects, they proceeded to wreak their vengance on the unfortunate survivors, and everywhere perpetrated the most fiendish cruelties, often first torturing or executing the local leaders. Leuenberger was beheaded at Bern after he had been made to suffer on the rack. At Zofingen a series of Courts-Martial sat to try the chiefs of the movement, and here Schybi and others were brought to the block. Every day batches of victims were led to execution in different districts, whilst heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment were awarded to the less implicated. The free Bailiwicks, Solothurn, and other important centres were condemned to pay large sums, and, to complete their work of vengeance, the Swiss authorities induced the Emperor Ferdinand to launch the "ban of the empire" against the fugitives who sought an asylum in his territories. Entlibuch, the cradle of the rebellion, was occupied by a strong military force, which inflicted many acts of barbarous cruelty on the inhabitants, who were soon reduced to the direst depths of poverty and wretchedness. So great was this oppression that the people were at length driven to desperation, and once more rose against their cruel masters. The effort had no other result than the infliction of fresh bloodshed, and was quickly suppressed. The leaders, who were the redoubtable " Three Tells," together with a number of other peasants, were summarily executed after being tortured.

At last the policy of vindictive persecution gave way before a reaction in favour of more merciful measures, and peace and partial freedom were again

restored to the Communes, together with certain minor concessions that eventually brought about a semblance of content and prosperity to the much-harassed peasant classes.

One result of this contest was the separation of Solothurn from the rest of the Confederates in consequence of the heavy fine inflicted on her. She further formed a close alliance with the French King, and refused to acknowledge her victorious countrymen. "In Switzerland," says the Swiss author, Aloys Voch, "it is always the custom of the conquered to seek the protection of Turks or Pagans, rather than to become reconciled with their ruling fellow-countrymen," an opinion which, allowing for exaggeration, certainly is supported by many episodes in the history of the land.

Though the "Peasants' War" had for the time caused Catholics and Protestants to unite for their common and immediate interest, when that contest was over they quickly fell asunder, leaving an even wider breach than before existed. Both also set about projects that were strongly calculated to militate against a return to that old Confederate unity which had made and upheld the nation prior to the introduction of religious discord.

The Waldensees.

Either from sympathy or self-interest the Protestants developed great concern with the cruel treatment of the Waldensees, and succeeded, with the help of England and Holland, after threatening armed intervention, in obtaining a treaty of toleration, at Pignerol, for the sect. What, however, was more important was that they also succeeded in persuading the powerful French minister, Mazarin (the originator of the persecution) to withhold his country's support from Savoy.

Another result of this intervention of the Swiss Protestants was the bringing about of a firm friendship and thorough understanding between them and the man who at that time governed the destinies of England, Oliver Cromwell. Neither were the Catholics inactive. In 1656 a renewal of their alliances with the Bishop of Basel took place, by the terms of which both sides agreed to give mutual support in religious and political concerns and to share equally all conquests made in concert. This was followed by a formal renewal of the Borromean League and the entering into close relations with Spain and Savoy. As it is hardly conceivable that the contracting parties to these treaties contemplated embarking in war with any of the powerful nations outside the Swiss frontier, it appears as if it were intended to attack openly the Protestants of Switzerland. And this was the feeling that spread throughout the cantons, and naturally gave rise to great uneasiness and dread in the minds of all true lovers of their country. And many such appear to have then existed. That these fears were only too well grounded, the pages of Switzerland's dishonourable and blood-stained annals for the next half-century but too clearly show.

Catholic Alliances, A.D. 1656.

Within two years after the cessation of the "Peasants' War," religious differences again brought about hostilities between Catholics and Protestants. The little town of Arth, in the intensely Catholic Canton of Schwyx, numbered amongst its inhabitants a few families that, having imbibed the Reformed doctrines, secretly carried on the practice of the proscribed religion. In this they were aided by frequent visits from several Zürich pastors, who, in order to escape detection, assumed various disguises when within the cantonal

First Villmergen War.

districts. Soon, however, in spite of all precautions, the existence of the heretics was discovered, and an active persecution was organised, that obliged the leaders to escape from the town in order to save their
A.D. 1655. lives. The fugitives sought and obtained an asylum in Zürich, where they laid their troubles before the Council, and begged for protection and assistance in removing their goods from Arth (September). Both requests were granted freely, and Zürich made application to Schwyx to grant the necessary permit. To this Schwyx responded by demanding the immediate extradition of her heretical subjects and refusing all concessions, and did not soften her message by adding that she knew no authority outside her own territories, and owed an account of her actions only to her God and to her own people. As a further practical demonstration of her views, Schwyx at once occupied Arth with a military force, arrested some twenty of the relations of the escaped Protestants, and conveyed them to the capital, where they were all either imprisoned, tortured, or executed, and the whole of their property confiscated. This high-handed and cruel conduct roused such indignation in Zürich and the other Protestant centres that open hostilities were begun, and that in spite of the intervention of the French Ambassador and the neutral cantons. In the struggle, Schwyx, with Luzern and other Catholic States of the Confederation, was opposed to Zürich and Bern aided by Basel, Schaffhausen and Muhlhausen. In December, 10,000 of the Zürich Militia, under Rudolph Werdmüller, entered Thurgau, where they expelled the Catholic authorities and carried all before them. They next invested Rapperschwyl (which, together with

Bremgarten, Mellingen and Baden, had been occupied by the Catholics), but after an obstinate resistance and the loss of 2,000 men, they were compelled to raise the siege. Whilst these events were in progress, a Bernese army of 12,000 men, undisciplined, and without efficient leaders, had been engaged in the congenial task of sacking, burning, and otherwise destroying the churches, monasteries and villages of the Aargau districts.

In January of the following year the Bernese A.D. 1656. encamped at Villmergen, and here their utter disregard of the most elementary military precautions and their arrogant reliance upon their numbers and personal prowess led to their being surprised and completely defeated by a body of 4,000 Catholics commanded by the intrepid Christopher Pfyffer, of Luzern. It is related, and it seems with truth, that at the moment of going into action Pfyffer received a despatch from his Government ordering him to act only on the defensive, and not to risk a battle with his formidable opponents. Having, however, a strong suspicion of its contents, he placed the document unopened in his pocket, and did not learn its mandate till after the battle was fought and won. By their defeat the Bernese lost over 1,000 in killed, besides many wounded and prisoners, eleven pieces of artillery, and several banners. After a few days' rest the victorious Catholics returned with their spoils to Luzern. The war dragged on for a short time longer without any decisive advantage to either side, till the fear of foreign intervention, the enormous daily increasing cost of maintaining so many troops under arms, and the general uncertainty of retaining the support of the peasant levies, induced the Governments of

Peace of Baden, Nov., 1656.

both sides to come to terms. A peace was finally concluded at Baden in November through the good offices of the neutral cantons and the French representative. By the terms of this treaty each state was guaranteed the right of self-government in its internal and special affairs, with freedom to conform to whichever form of religion it chose to adopt. The question of the fate of the Arth refugees—the original cause of the war—seems to have been entirely forgotten. This peace, which was more of the nature of a truce than a final settlement of the differences between the two great religious parties, left things pretty much in the condition they were before the war. General exhaustion for the moment prostrated both sides in all matters except religious hatred and bigotry. These latter were actively alive, and required but an opportunity and a little breathing space once more to light up the lurid and ghastly torch of the fratricidal struggle that now assumed the position of a chronic national Swiss malady. In the Common Bailiwicks the rival sects maintained their bitter enmity, much blood was shed, and great misery prevailed, this being especially the state in Thurgau and in several other important localities. During this period personal liberty amongst the vast mass of the people lessened more and more, and the wealthy and ruling classes assumed to themselves, especially in the large towns, greatly increased power. The distinctions between patrician and plebeian became absolute. In many places, as in Basel, Bern and Geneva, all power came to belong to a few wealthy families, and laws were even passed to regulate the make and material of the dress of the different social grades. Following the example of the Grand Monarque,

many of the Swiss magistrates aped the manners and costume of that Sovereign's Court, and, when possessing the necessary ability, interlarded their speech with classical quotations. Republican simplicity amongst the rulers practically ceased to exist, and class-cleavage every day became more pronounced. This was seen even in the courts of law, where poverty or social inferiority stood little chance of obtaining justice when pitted against wealth or power—(Daguet). Many risings took place against the arbitrary rulers, but as the different State Governments were usually willing to combine against the people, these popular movements only ended in increased burdens being imposed by the masters upon their subjects. The mass of the people had forgotten the ancient methods of combination that brought them irresistible strength, and had not yet learnt the modern ones.

Louis XIV.

The great services rendered to Louis XIV. by his numerous Swiss auxiliaries made the French king anxious to retain them in his service, and to obtain still further interests in their country. Chiefly through the agency of lavish bribes, he succeeded in imposing his sovereign influence over Solothurn, Freyburg and Luzern, and later over the greater part of Switzerland. In a Diet held at Solothurn in 1663, which city since 1654 had practically formed a portion of the French dominions, a formal treaty was signed, in which, among other clauses extremely advantageous to Louis, it was stipulated that at least 6,000 Swiss should serve in the French army, in return for certain payments and commercial advantages. Two months later, thirty-six Confederate deputies went to Paris, where they were fêted and loaded with valuable presents. Many of the

A.D. 1663.

presents took the form of massive gold chains, sufficiently long to encircle the chest of the wearer several times. It was not long, however, before the generous donor demanded his money's value, and caused Switzerland to repent bitterly her new alliance and subserviency to France.

A.D. 1668. In 1668 Louis occupied the neutral and Swiss-protected Franche-Comté with a force of his Swiss mercenaries. In vain the Confederates protested against the violation of their rights. After this national affront, the authorities were so far aroused to the decadence of their former military strength, that, after considerable difficulties, joint action was taken by the Diet, and a law, known as the *Defensionale*, was passed for the reorganisation of the Confederate forces. The number of men each canton should supply to the national army was also agreed to,[1] as was the appointment of a Council of War, at which two deputies from the general Diet, vested with full political powers, were to sit. This is the solitary instance where patriotic unity among the Confederates took the place of religious divisions and party conflict when the honour and safety of the country were at stake throughout this period of Swiss history.

Franche-Comté, A.D. 1674. Though the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle ceded the Franche-Comté to Spain, Louis again invaded it in 1674, and garrisoned it with Swiss soldiers. Eight

Strasburg, A.D. 1681. years after this forcible theft, Strasburg met a similar

1 The army contemplated to be raised by the agreement was nominally put at 13,000 militia, though the number could be increased if necessary. Each of the thirteen cantons was to supply to this force 9,600, the Common Bailiwicks 2,400, and the allied towns 1,400 men.

fate, a fate brought about in great measure by the treason of her Bishop and several of the chief local magnates. Still later a French fortress was built in the neighbourhood of Basel (1692), which town had already, in 1678, been threatened by a formidable French force, and was only saved by the timely action of the Confederates in garrisoning it—(Ochs). Gradually, by means of wholesale bribery, lavish promises, and no less lavish threats, Louis acquired supreme authority over the Swiss, and initiated and directed their policy in such a manner as his own interests required. From this time onwards, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Switzerland remained little more than a dependency of the French Crown.

Religious Persecutions in France, A.D. 1682.

Having thus firmly established his temporal ascendency over the cantons (as well as over a great part of Western Europe), Louis XIV. next attempted to arrogate to himself the chief control of things spiritual, and, accordingly, issued a decree to the Protestants of France commanding them to renounce the errors of the Reformation and return to the Catholic Faith. This they refused to do, and a fearful persecution followed—men, women and children being imprisoned, tortured, executed, or sent to the galleys by hundreds. Many sought safety in flight, and to Switzerland alone some 6,000 emigrated, the greater number settling in Vaud, Geneva and Bern, where, in spite of the menaces of Louis, they were protected and cared for by the local authorities. Both England and Holland strongly supported the Swiss Protestants in their action, and, the better to keep in touch with the Evangelical party, the former country maintained a representative in Switzerland. The lavish generosity

French Refugees.

of the Swiss Protestants is very remarkable when it is remembered how poor they really were. In 1686 a fresh influx of religious outcasts came to Switzerland when the renewed persecution of the Waldensees drove so many out of their own lands, and in 1694 another persecution threw several thousands more on the mercy of the Swiss. Five years later a large number of both French and Piedmont immigrants, assisted by the Confederates, retired to Germany and Holland, where they formed colonies distinct in language, relig on and customs from their neighbours. The anti-French party in the Reformed Cantons, long insignificant in numbers and power, at last, towards the close of the century, began to increase rapidly and extend its influence throughout the Confederacy. The many continued arbitrary acts of the French King led to this national change of feeling, which further received a strong impetus when, in 1690, Louis marched a large army towards the frontiers, between Geneva and Neuchâtel, and occupied the neighbouring territories, an act that roused others besides the Swiss, and led to the drawing up of a treaty for concerted action between the Swiss nationalists, represented by Bern and Zürich, and the Vaudois general, St. Saphorin, representing England and the other Powers hostile to France. One immediate result of this coalition was that both Venice and Geneva, then menaced by Louis' troops, were saved, and Neuchâtel passed from the rule of French pretenders into the position of a Hohenzollern principality, allied to the Confederation and under the protection of Prussia (1707). On the death of the last representative of the Longueville rulers of Neuchâtel, some fifteen

Waldensees.

Neuchâtel, A.D. 1707.

claimants to the vacant estates arose, but of these, Frederick I. of Prussia, the French Prince Conti, and the Canton of Uri alone possessed any real claim.[1] Louis strongly supported Conti, and even marched an army to the frontiers to enforce his wishes, but the energetic action of Prussia and Switzerland, as well as the votes of the Neuchâtel Councillors, in the end carried the day. Switzerland's action in this matter arose in part from her anti-French feeling, but was due also in great measure to the very considerable bribes Frederick I. distributed amongst some of the leading men of Bern and other important towns. The attitude assumed by a large portion of Switzerland in this contest did not prevent some 30,000 Swiss from enrolling themselves under the banners of France, whilst at least 20,000 served in the other European armies during the wars of this period. Many of these mercenaries greatly distinguished themselves and rose to high command.

Mercenary Service.

One of these, a native of the Graubünden, named Stouppa, a man possessing all the qualities fitted in the times in which he lived to bring their possessor to the fore—audacity, ambition, craft, clear-headedness and thorough unscrupulousness—rose to the rank of

1 Neuchâtel was a fief of the Burgundian Kingdom till 1282, when it passed to the House of Châlons, and later to that of Longueville. Mary, Duchess of Némours, who died in 1707, was the last of this line. In 1806 Napoleon compelled the Prussian monarch to surrender the Principality, and bestowed it on General Berthier. In 1814 Neuchâtel again passed to the House of Brandenburg, when it was incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as a separate Canton. During the events of 1707 Neuchâtel seems for a short time to have been actually in the possession of Great Britain, who held it as it were in trust till the Prussian claims were definitely settled.

field-marshal, in France. Of him it is recorded that once being in the presence of Louis XIV., one of the king's ministers said, "Sire, with all the gold your Majesty has given to the Swiss, one could make a road paved with crown-pieces all the way from Paris to Basel." To this Stouppa rejoined, "With all the blood shed by the Swiss for your Majesty, one could fill a canal all the way from Basel to Paris." This praiseworthy speech did not, however, prevent the Graubünden exile from changing his religion and sacrificing his country's interests, in order to obtain the king's favour. It is calculated that between 1474 and 1715, the Swiss lost 700,000 men in the service of France, and received 2,675 millions of livres in payment for their services—(Daguet).[1]

English Refugees.

The friendship that for so many years connected England and the Protestants of Switzerland received a violent check when the Swiss extended their protection to the political exiles condemned to death at the instance of Charles II., for the part they took in causing the execution of his father. Of these, nine succeeded in escaping and took refuge on Bernese territory. Here, in spite of diplomatic pressure and coercive threats, they were sheltered and cared for, and their extradition

A.D. 1662.

stoutly refused (1662). The English Court, foiled by the firm attitude of the Government of Bern, next resorted to the cowardly expedient of employing secret agents to work its vengeance, and was so far successful that one of the little band, John Lisle, was shot dead

1 During this period the Swiss first began to use the bayonet instead of the pike, and to wear red uniforms. Both innovations were imported from the armies of the foreign Powers under whose flags so many Swiss served.

at Lausanne by a hired assassin. Extraordinary precautions to guard their guests from similar outrages were thereupon taken by the authorities with characteristic generosity and the true Swiss love of liberty. A fortified house close to the western gate of Vevey was assigned for the use of five of the "regicides" who had taken up their residence in that town. Assistance in case of open attack was provided by means of a specially loud-sounding alarm bell, and on several occasions a stringently worded order to all citizens to afford immediate help, whenever it was required, was affixed to the doors of the churches and publicly read in the market-place. That these precautions were urgently necessary became apparent from the daring efforts made by the hired bravos of Savoy to earn the wages promised them by "the Merry (and most unchivalrous) Monarch." On one occasion as General Ludlow was returning home after attending church, he was waylaid and fired at, and though the hue and cry was at once raised, his would-be murderer succeeded in reaching a boat and making good his escape to Savoy on the further side of the lake. Ludlow ventured to visit England in 1689, and after risking his life for nearly two years in his native land, returned to Vevey, where he died in 1693. The town that had sheltered and protected the exiles in their time of peril gave them an honoured resting-place after their deaths. Within the ancient Church of St. Martin repose the bodies of the men who did so much to make and turn the current of England's history—Andrew Broughton, John Phelps, Gawler, Love and Ludlow.[1]

1 The site of the present Hôtel du Lac has always been pointed out as that upon which the "regicides' house" formerly

Toggenburg.

Occupied in the congenial task of making money, even at the expense of national honour, and under French influences, the Swiss had now for several years succeeded in preserving a certain appearance of unity, and had refrained from actually murdering one another by civil war. Troubles, however, soon broke out that once more led to open hostilities, the cause this time being the differences between Leodegar, Abbot of St. Gallen, and his subjects of the Toggenburg villages. This district, situated between the territories of Zürich, Glarus, Appenzell, and the lands of the Abbey, had in 1468 been sold by Petermann, Baron of Raron (the successor of the ancient Counts of Toggenburg) to Ulrich, Abbot of St. Gallen. During the early reigns of the new over-lords the ancient rights and privileges

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stood. A reference to Ludlow's own memoirs ("Les Memoires de Ludlow," 3 vols. in 12, Amsterdam, 1707), will prove that this is clearly an error and that the house was situated not at the east end, but to the west, and outside the town walls—(Albert de Montet). On the wall of the Hôtel du Lac is a tablet, with the following inscription:—"Ici habitait Edmund Ludlow, Lieut-Général, Membre du Parlement Anglais, Défenseur des Libertés de son Pays. L'illustre Proscrit avait fait placer cette inscription sur la porte de sa Demeure. *Omne Solum forti patria quia patris*—(Every country is a brave man's home). Energiquement protégé par les Autorités et accueilli avec sympathie par les habitants de Vevey Edmund Ludlow a vécu dans cette ville de 1662 à 1693, année de sa mort." Possibly this inscription may refer to the site of the house Ludlow occupied after his return from England, but his former residence was certainly at the opposite end of the town, and most probably at 49, Rue de Lac. *Apropos* of this, Sir Richard Burton writes, "There is a local legend known to all, even to the guide-books, that early in the present century an English couple introduced themselves as Mr. and Mrs. Ludlow to M. Grenier, who had bought the house from M. Collier, the successor of M. Dubois. While the lady remained pleasantly chatting with the ancient proprietor, the gentleman slipped out of the room and carried off the wooden tablet bearing the epigraph, 'Omne Solum,' etc."

of the peasants were scrupulously respected, as well as their religious belief tolerated (a majority being of the Reformed Church). Practical self-government was allowed, and the people had the control of their own militia, Church revenues, and other matters of local importance. They were, moreover, allied to Schwyx and Glarus, while a similar bond connected these two cantons with the Abbot. As time passed, gradual encroachments upon the peasants' rights were made by successive Abbots, who imposed taxes, and finally, in the beginning of the 18th century, Leodegar, the then ruler of St. Gallen, openly claimed and exercised supreme authority. Among his other unjust and harsh acts he ordered the people to make a road through Hummelwald at their own cost (though on more than one occasion they had already exempted themselves by large payments from the burden of the corvée). The Abbot further emphasised his position by expelling all Protestants who held official posts in the district. The people at once rose in revolt, and both sides appealed to Schwyx and Glarus for assistance. After some delay the allied cantons, together with Zürich, declared in favour of the oppressed peasants (1702). Overjoyed at this decision the A.D. 1702. villagers assembled in a vast *Landsgemeinden* when, after formally voting their disseverance from St. Gallen, they declared their territory a separate state, and drew up a code of laws for its future government. Nothing daunted by his failure to procure aid from his Swiss neighbours, Leodegar appealed to the Confederates to support his authority, and for several years the matter was discussed in numerous Diets, no definite decision being arrived at. At length patriotism and politics

having failed to bring about a *modus vivendi*, religious jealousy, hatred and local feeling stepped in and cut the knot in the orthodox manner with the sword.

Though doubtless at first Schwyx, in the action she took, was purely actuated by feelings of sympathy for the oppressed Toggenburgers, she soon perceived that Zürich lent her powerful aid from motives that were greatly influenced by the fact that the peasants were her co-religionists. The knowledge of this was sufficient to obscure her sense of justice and liberty. A reaction set in, Schwyx went over to the Abbey (1707), and both Catholics and Protestants set about preparing for war in earnest. In Toggenburg itself, Leodegar garrisoned a number of castles with troops from Schwyx, whilst Zürich despatched a large force under Heinrich Bodmer to the frontier, and Bern and the other Reformed Cantons energetically prepared to attack their opponents in religion. In 1710 the Toggenburgers, being then sure of efficient support, attacked and expelled the foreign garrisons, and soon brought the country into a condition of complete anarchy. On their side the Catholic States of Schwyx, Uri, Unterwalden, Luzern, Valais and Zug, roused to a pitch of religious fury by the preaching of their priests, collected an army of 20,000 men. They were further strengthened by the direct encouragement of Rome (where prayers were offered up publicly for their victory over the heretics) in the shape of 20,000 thalers from the papal treasury, and amulets and consecrated bullets were lavishly dealt out by the priests. The united forces of Bern and Zürich amounted to 60,000, and to these must be added the many practical sympathisers in the other Protestant

A.D. 1707.

Civil War, A.D. 1710.

and so-called neutral cantons, besides the peasants of Toggenburg themselves. Officially Freyburg, Glarus and Solothurn remained inactive on either side, but many enthusiastic volunteers from their territories joined the Protestant ranks.

In 1712 the bloody drama commenced by the Zürich troops attacking and taking several places of minor importance, followed by the capture and pillage of Wyl. After marching victoriously through Thurgau the Abbey of St. Gallen was taken, and the abbot himself only escaped being made a prisoner by a hasty flight. Most of the valuable works contained in the celebrated abbey passed into the hands of the victors, and these, together with other local treasures, were sent to Zürich. A.D. 1712.

The first really serious engagement between the opposing parties, where the sides were at all balanced, took place in Aargau, where the Catholics had already captured and garrisoned Baden, Bremgarten and other important posts. At Bremgarten two formidable forces, composed respectively of troops from Luzern and Bern, met and fought. Though the Catholics were at first successful, the Protestants eventually, after great slaughter on both sides, routed their opponents, and took possession of the town (May). After the capture of Bremgarten, Bern and Zürich mustered an army of 10,000 men, and laid siege to Baden. The garrison, numbering 8,000, chiefly from the Schwyx militia, and under the command of Reding and Crivelli of Uri, made an obstinate resistance, but fought in vain, as, after a heavy bombardment, that practically reduced the town to ruins and destroyed its formidable fortifications, it was forced to surrender

(June). Strenuous efforts were now made to bring about peace, but the exacting terms demanded by Bern and Zürich precluded the Catholics from accepting them, and all Switzerland fell into a greater frenzy with the fever of war than had ever before been the case, even in that much-harassed country. Nearly 150,000 armed men were now in the field. So great, indeed, appeared the probability of religious hatred on the one side, and lust of power and conquest on the other, leading to a war of extermination within the Confederate frontiers, that, had it not been for the determined attitude taken by England, Prussia and Holland, Austria and France would certainly have interfered, and settled the Swiss difficulties by dividing the country between themselves. All hopes of a peaceful solution being gone, the combatants again rushed at one another's throats. Several battles took place, but no decisive result followed till the two sides met in force, and, for the second time, butchered one another at Villmergen (July). Leading an army of 12,000 men up the Valley of the Reuss, Ackermann of Unterwalden arrived at Villmergen, where he encountered the Bernese troops, to the number of about 9,000, under Davel and Saconay. Fighting began with fearful ardour, and after lasting eight hours, resulted in the total defeat of the Catholics, who left over 2,000 dead, including many officers and priests, on the field, besides many cannon and banners. Later in the day many hundreds of the fugitive survivors perished in the neighbouring river Bünz, where they were driven by the victors. The Bernese loss was also considerable, as nearly 1,000 Protestants were killed. After this decisive victory the soldiers of Bern marched into

Second Battle of Villmergen, July, 1712.

Canton Luzern, whilst the forces of Zürich passed into Canton Zug and also took possession of Rapperschwyl. These reverses proved sufficiently important to depress thoroughly the enthusiasm of the Catholic states, that now expressed their willingness to come to terms. After many negotiations peace was finally brought about by the signing of a treaty at Aarau (August 11th). The terms of this compact were greatly to the advantage of the victorious Protestants, as the Catholic Cantons were compelled to cede their sovereign rights over the Bailiwicks of Bremgarten, Baden, Mellingen, and other places, whilst the Protestants were admitted into the co-overlordship of Thurgau, Sargans and Rheinthal. The Catholics were further forced formally to renounce all interference with the affairs of the Toggenburg. The chief features of this treaty were the assurance it gave to the Common Bailiwicks of religious liberty, and by granting the Protestants the possession of Baden, the opening of free communication between Baden and Zürich. The unfortunate Toggenburg peasants, for whose freedom the war was ostensibly begun, shared the fate of so many of those for whom the Swiss have fought. Though granted a few slight privileges, they were again relegated to the sovereignty of the Abbot of St. Gallen, and refused all realisation of their hopes of local autonomy. "Bern," said one of her leading men, "was not accustomed to make lords out of peasants; at present you are not fit to govern yourselves." Leodegar, obstinately refusing to acknowledge the Treaty of Aarau (which the Pope declared null and void), did not recover his former position, and died an exile. He was succeeded at the Abbey by Joseph, a man with fewer scruples, who, in

Treaty of Aarau, Aug., 1712.

1718, received back the Toggenburg estates on formally accepting the treaty.

A.D. 1713. In 1713 Bern formed an alliance with England and Holland, and two years later a secret treaty was entered into between Louis XIV. and the Swiss Catholic Cantons, by which the French agreed to help the latter to recover their lost possessions. This scheme was, however, frustrated by the death, in the following year (1715), of the French monarch.

For the next eighty years Switzerland remained free from actual war, though the seething mass of religious and political hatred that permeated almost every part of the country, and the general poverty and discontent that arose from the past dissensions, greatly retarded that civilisation and national unity that were so much needed by the people. The 17th century shows, probably, the most deplorable period in the history of the land. The nation seemed seized with an insatiable thirst for blood, while party prejudice, reckless religious fanaticism, and other passions of the most ignoble nature swayed the councils of the cantons, and rapidly brought the country to the verge of ruin, and the Confederation to practical dissolution. It had taken thousands of lives and hundreds of years to build up the Unity of Switzerland; it required thousands of lives and a very few years to destroy it.

CHAPTER XVII

SWITZERLAND'S GENERAL CONDITION BEFORE THE FRENCH INVASION, BETWEEN 1715 AND 1798

Politically, and in material progress, the annals of Switzerland during the eighty years that preceded her invasion by the French, show little of novelty or interest, and nothing of importance. Freed from the contentions of her restless neighbours, she dragged on her decrepit existence, disturbed only at short intervals from her lethargy by trivial revolts, religious disputes, and local jealousies. The sun of Switzerland's first heroic and prosperous period had now long set. Before the rejuvenated Confederation should arise, and grow to power and prosperity upon the firm basis of national unity and mutual confidence, the unhappy land was destined to encounter many a dreary and devastating winter. This deceptive interval of repose will, therefore, be taken advantage of to give some account of the existing political institutions and general condition of the country, as a knowledge of these is necessary to appreciate the importance of the many radical changes brought about by the events of Ninety-eight. Though the thirteen cantons were still nominally united, the bond was of the very slightest. Neither did the Federal Alliance affect the union of individual states to one another. For example, the eight ancient cantons had a separate compact among themselves for common

defence, and even of these Schwyx, Zürich, Uri, Luzern and Unterwalden, were bound not to form alliances without the consent of all, while the three others, Bern, Zug and Glarus, were free to make alliances with other cantons or foreign powers, provided, by so doing, nothing harmful to the Federal bond was contemplated. To these causes of disunion must also be added the many great and small parties, created by religious, political, or local causes, that made the Confederation little more than a collection of heterogeneous molecules, ready at any moment to fly asunder. The confusion was further accentuated by the absence of any permanent central authority vested with supreme control over the affairs of the nation. An attempt to form such an authority was made by the cantons, when general Diets were appointed; but these assemblies were latterly little more than formal, as they possessed no power to settle any important issue, unless it had first been decided on by each of the states. The deputies had no individual right to vote on any new question that might arise during a debate till they had received their instructions from their respective Governments. Moreover, what ought to have been grave and earnest deliberations too often degenerated into party struggles, where self-interest and personal abuse ended in scenes of tumultuous violence. Ordinary general Diets met annually, at Frauenfeld, where the duputy from Zürich acted as president, and at the end of each session drew up a report of the business transacted, and forwarded a copy to each canton. The meetings were held with closed doors, each member possessed one vote, and decisions were come to by a simple majority. Extraordinary Diets could

Diets.

be assembled by the president, on the demand of a foreign minister, or when some pressing question of national importance needed immediate attention. In the former case, the minister concerned was held responsible for all expenses incurred by the deputies in leaving suddenly their businesses.

Local Government.

Each of the cantons had its special form of government, as had the Bailiwicks, the subject-towns and the Communes. Many were totally distinct from the rest, each had some peculiarity of its own. It would be neither profitable nor practical to describe in detail, or even to enumerate, all the differently constituted political bodies that more or less ruled the people of Switzerland. Were such a task possible, a long series of volumes would be the result, a prospect that few writers, and still fewer readers, would contemplate with pleasure. Instead, a brief sketch of those that more especially influenced the current of Swiss events will alone be attempted. For purposes of classification, the Cantonal Governments may be divided into three classes—Democratic, Municipal, and Aristocratic or Oligarchical.

(A) *Democracies.*

Government "of the people by the people" existed in its purest form in the three parent States of the Confederation—Schwyx, Uri and Unterwalden—and in Zug, Glarus and Appenzell. In these cantons it was the custom to hold a general meeting of the people (*Landsgemeinde*) at which every adult male was allowed to speak and vote, to settle all matters of public concern. The assembly usually took place once a year, unless urgent affairs called it together oftener. The chief local officer, the *Landammann*, and the other necessary executive officials were here elected; laws, rules, and taxes voted or annulled; the expenditure for the ensuing

year fixed, and all other questions of local or national interest—as peace, war, or alliances—discussed and decided.

Landsgemeinden.

Landsgemeinden were abolished in 1848 in Schywx and Zug, but are still held in the other democratic cantons. Sir Francis Adam's description of one of these interesting meetings in Uri, at which he was an honoured guest, well shows the chief features of these assemblies as they have existed for many centuries. Conservatism of the most pronounced form has always characterised the Swiss Democratic communities.

"Uri may be taken as an example. There, on the first Sunday in May, the people assemble in a meadow at Bözlingen-an-der-Gand, not far from Altdorf. The Landammann, after having duly attended Mass in the village church, proceeds in procession to the place of meeting. He is accompanied by ushers in antique costumes of black and yellow, the colours of the canton. There is an ancient banner with the arms of Uri (a bulls' head, on a yellow ground), and there are old wild bull's horns, which year after year are borne upon poles by men in front. The Landammann seats himself at a table in the centre of the meadow with another official (*Landschreiber*), and the people, standing or sitting, range themselves around him as in an amphitheatre. The Landammann makes his opening speech, and reviews the events, domestic and foreign, of the previous year. Then there is silence over the whole assembly, every one offering up a prayer, and after that the real business commences. Each man speaks his mind when and for as long as he pleases, every subject is discussed with decorum, and finally, when all other matters have been settled, the officials for the following year are chosen.

The outgoing Landammann (who may be, and generally is, re-elected for another year) delivers up his charge with an affirmation that he has injured no one voluntarily, and he asks pardon of any citizen who may think himself aggrieved. The new Landammann takes the prescribed oath, and the whole people swear to obey him, to serve their country, and to respect the laws. Other officials are then elected by show of hands, and the meeting is over. . . . This (the show of hands) was peculiar. Each voter not only held up his hand, but he moved the fingers quickly up and down, accompanying the motion with a low moaning sound, which was, in fact, a kind of subdued cheer. The effect to us was very startling."

It would be difficult to devise a more efficient method of carrying on the affairs of a people when those affairs were purely local, than that exercised by the democratic cantons. All were placed upon an equal footing of political rights, all were equally concerned about the general prosperity, and the actual executive was composed of those best qualified for their posts. A majority of the whole people, and not a particular section or a small class, was responsible for good and economical government. When the executive proved worthy of confidence it was retained in power, when it proved itself unworthy it could be easily and quickly removed, and replaced by another, and that with little expense, or hindrance to the carrying on of public business. On the other hand, this system had many practical drawbacks when questions arose for decision of the *Landsgemeinde* that required a wider range of vision, greater knowledge of external affairs, and a more thorough appreciation of national interests, than the

mass of the peasant politicans possessed, buried as they were in their valleys from the outside world and its concerns.

(B) *Municipal.* In the municipally-governed centres of Switzerland the sovereign power rested with all the citizens of the chief towns in each canton. These elected the members of both the Council and the Senate, in which assemblies every voter was eligible to sit. In this class stand Zürich, Basel and Schaffhausen.

Zürich.

In general importance and military strength Zürich ranked next after Bern. She maintained a powerful and well-trained militia, she carried on a flourishing trade from her extensive manufactures, she was one of the chief centres of Protestantism, and in her arts, sciences and letters found more encouragement than in any other Swiss city. Her magistrates were famed for their learning and integrity, and her deputy presided at the meetings of the Federal Diets. The burghers, numbering about 2,000, were divided into thirteen guilds, according to the nature of the trade they exercised, except one called the "noble," the members of which lived on their income, without engaging in any particular business. From the ranks of the guilds the members of the Legislative Council and Senate were recruited in equal numbers from each class, excepting that of the "nobles," which elected twice as many representatives as any other. The Senators remained for life, subject to an annual confirmation of the trust reposed in them by their respective constituents. They administered the revenues, controlled the army and police, appointed all state officials, and constituted the supreme court of appeal in all criminal, and most civil cases. The subjects of Zürich, outside the burgher

class, numbered close on 150,000, and though these possessed partial self-government, they were rigorously excluded from all participation in the sovereign government of the canton, and from all civil and ecclesiastical offices and preferments. An old Swiss writer describes the characteristics of the people of Zürich, who did so much to support her tottering frame in her darkest days, in the following words: "A great aptitude for business, an activity carried at times to restlessness, a love of independence, a mercantile spirit somewhat grasping, and bravery often rash, a love of instruction, with a bias for contention and cavil, liberality without profusion; these have been the virtues and vices most conspicuous among the Zürichers. There was a greater spirit of frank independence in Zürich, and greater liberty of sentiments, than in any other of the large towns of Switzerland."

Basel

In no city of the Confederation was political equality and democratic freedom more conspicuous than in Basel. Though learning, wealth, and business here flourished, no class possessed exclusive privileges, and the meanest citizen was eligible for election to the Council, Senate and highest State offices. Once a year the magistrates publicly took an oath to maintain and respect the laws and rights of the citizens, who, in their turn, swore allegiance to the governing powers. That these were not empty formalities was shown by the prompt manner in which, on several occasions, the burghers imprisoned or deposed their officials for abuse of power. The members of the Legislative and Executive chambers were chosen from among the eighteen guilds into which the burghers were divided. Notwithstanding their strong democratic tendencies, the citizens never allowed strangers or people outside their own class to take a

share in the supreme government, and this in spite of the burghers only constituting one-third of the cantonal population. The country districts, as in the case of other states, possessed a certain amount of local self-rule, but were supervised and controlled by the cantonal officials called bailies, who collected the taxes and customs, enforced the laws, and otherwise represented the city's authority. The post of bailie was looked upon as the chief prize in the gift of the state; its pay was good, but its perquisites were better.

Schaffhausen.

Nothing of special importance distinguished Schaffhausen in its political or domestic life from the two cantons already considered. Several patrician families for a time having monopolised seats in the Senate, the burghers passed a law in 1689 which restored the rights of the people. The burgomaster, treasurers, and other officials, were appointed by the Council, the members of which were elected by the citizens.

(c) *Aristocratic.*

The Aristocratic Oligarchies were four: Bern, Luzern, Solothurn and Freyburg. In all these, for many years past, it had become more and more the custom to narrow down the number of burghers, from whose ranks the rulers were chosen, till at last all offices of power or emolument fell into the hands of a few favoured families, whose assumption and exercise of hereditary privileges did away with the last vestige of popular rights. Fresh burghers were not admitted, and political freedom was arbitrarily refused to those who, by long residence or public service, were entitled to it. As Bern stood pre-eminently the first and most important of the Swiss Aristocracies, and was, moreover, the most powerful city in the Confederacy, she will be taken as an example of the others.

Originally founded in the 12th century on the site of an obscure village of the same name by the Dukes of Zähringen, as a refuge for the lesser lords and the peasants of the neighbouring districts from the oppression of the higher nobility, Bern steadily progressed in size and power till, in the 18th century, the territories that owned her rule constituted a third part of all Switzerland. The sovereign power of the canton was exercised by the "Council of Two Hundred," so called from the original number of its members. Each councillor, though elected for life, was subject to summary dismissal for proved cause. None but burghers could claim a seat at the Council, and as the burgher class was composed exclusively of descendants of certain old families, it every year decreased in numbers. In 1776, less than 300 of these families remained, the population of Bern being about 11,000. The great majority of the people residing in the city, as well as the inhabitants of the country districts, were thus excluded from all share in the government. Even the burghers themselves, as a body, were never assembled, such assembly not being acknowledged as a part of the State constitution. The families who supplied members to the Council, or aspired to do so, lived on their private incomes without following any branch of industry. Military service abroad supplied the young patricians with their only resource against idleness and straitened means, while waiting their turn to serve (and live on) their country. *Bern.*

All laws, taxes, civil appeals, and other important cantonal affairs, as well as questions of war and peace, or the making of alliances, were under the control of the Council, from which body the Senate, as an executive, was chosen. The senators were elected for life,

and were twenty-seven in number; they filled all the chief state offices, and appointed pastors to the different livings. Over the head of all other officials stood the two *Avoyers* or *Schultheissen*. These magistrates took office on alternate years, and were appointed for life. The reigning *Schultheiss* acted as chief of the Bernese nominal republic and presided over the meetings of the Senate. Besides the *Schultheissen* were two treasurers who managed the revenues of the German and French subject territories, and furnished their reports to the Council. Next in order came the four Bannerets who superintended the four guild-districts into which the city was divided. Bern's large possessions were partitioned into Bailiwicks, over each of which a bailie representing the city's authority ruled, though many of the more important provincial towns enjoyed a large measure of municipal self-government. Bern's military establishment was much below what her wealth and population could have furnished, or her importance required. In place of a well-trained and properly equipped army, she relied on an undisciplined and badly-armed militia. Into this every man between the ages of 16 and 60, was enrolled for service when required, and compelled to supply himself with arms, uniform, and other military necessaries. From these a body of 40,000 men was selected, and formed into twenty-one regiments of infantry, twenty squadrons of cavalry, and four companies of artillery. As only the artillery and the city guard received any adequate training or attention, the result of Bern's military system was far from satisfactory. Indeed, only the fighting instinct, that even then was not wholly lost to the Swiss nature, and the experi-

ence so many of the militia received under good generals when in foreign employ, enabled Bern to hold her own so long as she did when the days of her misfortune came. For ecclesiastical purposes the whole canton, which numbered some 400,000 inhabitants, was divided into 416 parishes. The livings were poorly paid, the annual stipend attached to the great majority being much under what was really necessary. In the German districts preferment to the more lucrative livings was usually made according to seniority, a practice that led to many incompetent men occupying more important posts than those held by more earnest and able pastors. A supreme Consistory at Bern, composed of a Senator, the Dean of the University, one pastor and six members of the Council, managed all Church matters of any importance. In order to prevent the clergy from interfering in political affairs it was found necessary to pass a law that absolutely forbade any man who had been admitted into orders from being eligible for any seat in the Council, Senate, or other civil department.

Before closing the above very brief outline of the chief features of the Government of Bern, mention must be made of an unique institution that there existed. This is thus described by Planta:—"A singular and, at first sight, no doubt, rather ludicrous establishment, of which no instance is to be met with in any other government, was the mimic legislature, which, under the name of the *Exterior State*, was a perfect model of the real one, with all its offices, functions, ceremonies, and subordinate departments. It consisted of those burghers of distinguished families who had not yet attained the age requisite for real promotion; it

appointed to sixty-six Bailiwicks, which took their names from ruined castles dispersed throughout the country, among which Habsburg was the principal; it had an exchequer, and, differing in this from its archetype, some debts; great honours were paid to it in all public ceremonies, in which it greatly surpassed the sovereign Council in stateliness and splendour. These distinctions it doubtless owed to the consideration of its being, in fact, a political seminary for the youths, who were likely one day to arrive at the highest offices in the state. Its *avoyer* seldom failed of promotion into the great Council. Its badge, or coat of arms—an ape sitting on a lobster, and viewing itself in a mirror—was no bad emblem of its mock consequence."

For many centuries a prominent feature in the policy of Bern's government was the acquiring and hoarding of money for future needs. So successfully was this policy carried out, that in 1770, when the rest of Switzerland was miserably poor, Bern possessed a reserve fund of nearly fifty millions of livres. Of this large sum, nineteen millions were prudently invested in English securities, whilst the rest was deposited in the city coffers. Bern's reputation for wealth became European, and in great measure led to the invasion of Switzerland by the French, who hoped (and realised their expectation) to recruit their exhausted finances by dipping their hands into Bern's well-stocked treasury. Though outwardly pursuing her course with the tranquility her strength and influence seemed to assure, Bern's internal condition was far from quiet. Attempts were frequently made by her subjects to shake off her authority, and popular revolts on the part of the disfranchised people within her walls took place to recover

from the ruling patrician class the liberty and rights they had so long usurped. Prompt and vigorous action on the part of the assailed authorities succeeded in suppressing these democratic outbreaks. In 1742 a more than usually well-planned conspiracy was formed by a returned political exile, named Henzi, a man who added to great natural talents and democratic aspirations a personal hatred of the Government that had already punished him for a former plot. Collecting a little band of fanatics and criminals, Henzi hoped to effect a general rising, and a redistribution of political power upon a popular basis. At the final moment, however, he was betrayed by a comrade and, together with some of his chief supporters, was arrested. Little time was lost by the Government in vindicating its authority. Henzi and two other leaders were tortured, and then beheaded, several more were exiled or imprisoned, and the movement effectually crushed.

Nothing is more difficult than to gather from Swiss historians an accurate conception of the true merits and faults of the general government and policy of Bern. She has received more fulsome flattery and acrimonious abuse from her countrymen than any other city of the Confederation. The position she had attained by means not always characterised by a fine sense of honour, honesty, or patriotism, furnished the less fortunate cantons with a standing occasion for the lavish display of envy, hatred and malice towards her. The chief sins laid to her account by her own people were those that everywhere naturally follow when a small class of the community usurps sole and exclusive sway over the great majority of the people, whose rights are ignored and whose persons are despised. The Bernese laws,

though theoretically fairly just, were too obviously made for the benefit of the patrician minority, and in practice were enforced with unnecessary harshness, and often with the most open partiality. In her relations with the rest of Switzerland Bern followed a steady policy of self-aggrandisement and selfish isolation, coupled with a complete disregard of the rights of other cantons. Of the many writers who, taking a contrary view of the Bernese system, have extolled her Government and her public conduct, the historian Müller, and a Bernese magnate, alone need be quoted. Von Bonstetten, himself a patrician and a member of the Government, thus writes:—"The Government, from its very nature, was a stationary one, but it benefited all those who remained stationary with it; and thus we might have remained in a perpetual and contented mediocrity, if nothing had happened around us to tell us we were not happy enough. The Government had all the vices but it also had all the virtues of an aristocracy. Such was the disinterestedness of the patricians that, while they were accountable only to themselves for the management of the State finances, they lived in a state of bare competence by the side of forty or fifty million of livres of accumulated savings, which were finally plundered by our friends and allies from France. The Bernese Government existed for ages unarmed in the midst of its armed subjects. . . . A great characteristic of the Bernese Government was its scrupulous honesty; I have sat in its councils and tribunals, and I can aver that I never, in any one instance, saw an act which even seemed to violate the strictness of this principle." After giving the foregoing opinions, the worthy Bernese patrician carries the war into the enemies' camp,

animadverting in strong language on the venality and general corruption that existed in the Government tribunals of other Swiss Cantons. "It were no easy matter to find, in the world's history," says Johann Müller, the great Swiss historian, "a community which has been so wisely administered, and for so long a period, as that of Bern. In other aristocracies the people were kept in darkness, poverty and barbarism; factions were encouraged among them, while justice winked at crimes; and this was the case in the territories of Venice. But the people of Bern stood, with regard to their patricians, rather in the relation of clients towards their patrons than in that of subjects towards their sovereign."

Freyburg, Luzern and Solothurn.

Nothing calls for more than a passing reference in the other Swiss oligarchies. In all, government and power were usurped by a small and hereditary class, popular rights were ignored, and social distinctions were rigidly enforced. Luzern's Government, unlike that of Bern, was tinctured by the opinions of the heads of her Church. The canton ranked first among the Catholic States of the Confederacy, and was the chosen residence of the Papal Nuncio. In Luzern also, though the patrician and plebeian classes were clearly divided from one another, the burghers as a body possessed many privileges and were consulted on important occasions. With regard to the spirit of government, and the mental condition of the people, Freyburg and Solothurn stood lowest among the four aristocratic cantons.

Geneva.

For the years immediately following the establishment of Geneva's independence, learning, trade, and general industry received an immense impulse, and bid fair to bring her into the first rank of European cities.

Her old inherent spirit of unrest was, however, merely sleeping, not dead. With the accession of wealth came the accentuation of class cleavage and personal ambition that soon drowned all republican theories, and raised a succession of serious political commotions. Towards the middle of the 18th century, Geneva had so far changed her domestic mode of life that she earned for herself the unenviable reputation of being the most turbulent republic of the time. With the exception of her alliances with the cantons, she had little in common with the rest of Switzerland. Her people had fought long and hard to secure their independence, and the tardy assistance rendered them by their Swiss neighbours when on the point of succumbing to a foreign master, was only given from motives of self-interest, and brought with it little gratitude and no affection. In Geneva, as elsewhere, a small coterie of wealthy and ambitious families had gradually been forcing itself to the fore, and here the rise of the patrician class, though necessarily slow, was much quicker than in the Confederate cities. At the commencement of the 18th century, this class was firmly established as the supreme and dominant party in Geneva. Its members occupied a special quarter in the city, close to the Council House, assumed distinctive manners, dress and speech, exercised special prerogatives, and filled all the important posts in the government, including the Council and the Senate; even the name of *patrician* came into use in official acts of the authorities. The burghers, numbering about 1,500, were at first too fully occupied with their newly revived learning, religion and business, to pay much attention to politics. In 1707, however, they had so far awoke to the

injustice of what was going on, that reform agitated the public mind, and led to frequent disturbances, which at last became so serious that peace was only restored, and the government retained, by the authorities of Bern and Zürich occupying Geneva with a strong and well-armed garrison. On the Confederate troops evacuating the city, fresh troubles broke out, and continued with varying results till, in 1714, they again assumed serious proportions. Little had been gained by the burghers till this time, though much general harm resulted to both trade and intellectual progress. The head of the new revolt was taken by a burgher named Micheli Ducrest, an officer of the local militia, and a member of the Council, who possessed great scientific talents, and, though himself a patrician, fervent democratic opinions. The principal exciting cause of popular discontent was the imposition of a heavy tax to defray the expenses of the erection of a strong line of fortifications in place of the old ones around the city. After several serious encounters with the excited populace, the authorities issued a decree of perpetual banishment against Ducrest, ordered his writings to be publicly destroyed by the official executioner, and himself to be hanged in effigy. Severe repressive measures against other popular leaders, and the lavish enployment of minor punishments among the discontented people, at length put down the revolt, though not before much blood had been shed on both sides. While in exile, Ducrest mixed himself up with one of the many disturbances that were then occurring in Bern, for which he was arrested on Bernese territory and imprisoned in the castle of Aarburg, where he remained till his death, beguiling the tedium of con-

finement by the study of natural philosophy, and the construction of the thermometers and barometers that afterwards went by his name.

Disturbances of a more or less serious nature continued to agitate the political life of Geneva, till, in 1738, the patricians were at last partially conquered, and, at the instance of France, Bern and Zürich, a new Constitution was agreed to. This result came about under the direct influence of the latter two Confederate Cantons, whose troops once more occupied the city, and maintained a forced peace between the rival politicians. By the terms of the new Constitution, the practical sovereignty of the General Assembly of the burghers was re-established, and to this body was entrusted the right of confirming or removing the chief state officials, and of discussing all important matters. Other points, based upon democratic principles, were also conceded. For over twenty years after this event Geneva remained quiet, and set about repairing the losses she had sustained during her long period of political waste, though the revolutionary ideas that then permeated France began to make themselves felt also in the little republic. The writings of Voltaire (who, from 1755, lived at Ferney, close to Geneva), Rousseau, and others, were printed and circulated freely in the city, and these did not a little to make men discontented with their lives. From vague discontent with things as they existed, men began to formulate remedies. But, as the remedies for social disorders were numerous, and often opposed to one another, nothing like a united popular party against the Government was possible. In 1762, Rousseau, the great Genevese literary light of the

18th century, published his two works, the "Contract Social," and "Émile." The appearance of these books made the greatest impression throughout Europe, but especially in France, where they were ordered by the Parliament to be burnt publicly, for advocating what were deemed atheistical and socialistic views. Following the short-sighted policy of their powerful neighbour, the authorities of Geneva also ordered the books to be burned, and forbade their sale. Nothing, of course, could have more conduced to their circulation, or made men more anxious to know their contents. Soon the whole city was in an uproar, and ready to rise in open revolt against all constituted authority, stirred by passion and prejudice to the wildest pitch of political frenzy. Rousseau's views were seized with avidity by the leaders of the popular party, and Rousseau himself came to be regarded as the political saviour of all oppressed or unhappy people. Immediate anarchy was, for the time, staved off by a display of alternate repression and slight concessions to the most urgent popular demands, and a semblance of general tranquility was even established. The right to petition the authorities on any subject was next secured to every citizen, as well as the more important privilege that the General Assembly should in future elect half the members to all vacancies in the Council, and displace annually, if it chose, four members of the Senate. It is difficult, in the calmer atmosphere of to-day, to realise the wild excitement Rousseau's books caused in the middle of the last century. The ideas they contained on social and religious subjects, though clothed in seductive language, were neither novel nor practical. Rousseau possessed the art that

enabled him to focus the vague thoughts and yearnings of others that then permeated the intellectual and political strata of society. He expressed them eloquently and "elegantly," but he was no more their originator, as his friends imagined, than he was the atheist and anarchist his enemies called him. One is only surprised that so many obviously impractical and ancient theories, and so many transparent untruths, should have excited so much attention.

The burghers of Geneva seem for a time to have recovered completely from the temporary excitement caused by Rousseau's writings, and once more to have settled down to the improvement of their material and political condition. By 1780 they so far succeeded in the latter that they gained for their General Assembly greatly increased power. The Senate still acted as the Executive, and proposed all fresh laws in the first instance for the consideration of the Council. After passing this body they were next brought before the General Assembly, when their fate was finally settled, without debate, by a simple majority. Besides this concession, the citizens' assembly also determined questions of peace, war, or foreign alliances, and in other minor matters exercised greatly increased authority.

Whilst the burghers were thus gradually regaining their political status from their patrician opponents, another class was slowly, but surely, making its influence felt, and every year clamouring more loudly for political freedom. This was composed of a large section of the city inhabitants, who, though of foreign parentage, were born in Geneva. They were known as *Natives*, and, having failed to purchase the burghership, were denied all municipal privileges and excluded from all

official positions. The interests of both patricians and citizens involved opposition to their claims. Already, in 1770, the *Natives*, having failed to obtain any recog- A.D. 1770. nition of their demands by agitation, rose in revolt, but after some street fighting, and the loss of several lives, the movement was effectually for the time repressed. Eleven years later they seized the opportunity, when A.D. 1781. political disturbances on the subject of the publication of a code of laws broke out and disunited their opponents, again to urge their claims by joining in the fray. Matters in Geneva now came to a crisis, by a general insurrection of all classes bringing on a condition of anarchy, and paralysing all government and business. Many of the Senators and chief officials were arrested by the dominant party, others escaped, and new magistrates were appointed. In this emergency France, Bern and Sardinia intervened, and occupied the city with a force of 11,000 men. Under the authority of the foreign garrison the recently triumphant party was suppressed, the General Assembly was reduced to half its number by the exclusion of those citizens who had taken a prominent part in the disturbances, and nearly all power and authority were vested in the Council and Senate. The local militia was abolished, and a foreign garrison, paid by the state, substituted. Thus almost in a day nearly all the privileges gained by the burghers were lost, and both they and the *Natives* suffered considerably. This revolt and the general unsettled state of Geneva caused numbers to seek a home elsewhere. Many settled in Paris, where they became associated with the Girondins, and took a part in the early stages of the French Revolution. Others embarked in trade in England,

Holland, or Italy. "A certain number proposed to settle in Ireland. A memorial, signed by over 1,000 individuals, was presented to the Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Temple, praying that a spot might be assigned to them to form their colony. This petition was well received, and in September, 1782, being submitted to the Privy Council at Dublin, it was acceded to, and afterwards received the assent of George III. The Irish Parliament voted £50,000 for defraying the preliminary expenses and building a town for the colonists. The site chosen for this purpose, consisting of twenty-seven acres of Crown land, was near the mouth of the river Suir, about eight miles from Waterford, and nearly opposite Duncannon. A deputation of the emigrants proceeded to Waterford in July, 1783, to superintend the building of the new town, which was called New Geneva. The buildings soon began to rise and assume the appearance of a city; £30,000 had already been expended on the spot, when the whole scheme was suddenly abandoned, from causes which have never been entirely cleared up. It was said that the Genevese emigrants demanded too many privileges in the articles of their charter, and that the Corporation of Waterford became jealous, and wanted to extend its jurisdiction over the new colony. At the same time the recall of Earl Temple from Ireland contributed greatly to the failure of the scheme, of which he had been the principal patron. The emigrants, by an address presented to his successor, the Duke of Rutland, signified their intention of relinquishing the project. The buildings of New Geneva remained unoccupied for years, until they were used as barracks in the beginning of the war. The demesne was afterwards sold, the houses pulled down, and few traces of the project are now (1846) to be seen"—(Vieusseux).

A.D. 1782.

Though the citizens, by their own folly, lost the fruits of their hard-won victory over their patrician masters, another popular outbreak in 1789 compelled the latter again to succumb, and once more the burghers were conceded the former privileges of their General Assembly, and the decrees against the political exiles were officially rescinded. In this new grant to popular liberty the *Natives* also shared, as the rights of burghership were allowed to all the inhabitants whose families had for four generations resided in Geneva. Thus things remained till the advent of the French Revolution again threw Geneva into new troubles and fresh political changes. A.D. 1789.

Nothing of importance had changed the condition of the Graubünden since they established their independence in the middle of the 19th century. Allied to the Confederates, without taking any active part in the latter's affairs, the people of this, the wildest and most shut-off portion of modern Switzerland, lived a life of isolation in their valleys, disturbed only by local disputes and religious difficulties. They formed a little democratic republic, sub-divided into about sixty smaller republics, each distinct in itself, where the democratic principle of government flourished in its purest form. The population numbered about 150,000, and the country some 2,300 square miles. *Graubünden.*

Though the 18th century was that of Switzerland's national decadence, it was also her golden era of Literature and Science. Possibly the national characteristics of the Swiss may point a connection between the two events. In nearly every department of learning, men of genius appeared in numbers out of all proportion to the size or the past history of the country. Many attained world-fame renown, and have *Arts and Sciences.*

not had their lustre dulled by time or later competition. To Geneva, Bern, Zürich and Lausanne, belongs the chief honour of being the special birthplaces of Swiss intellect. The scope of this work admits but of the barest enumeration of a few of the names of the men whose genius, like a "golden halo hovering round decay," lit up the dark night that ushered in the death of the Confederation. For England the birth of native learning in Switzerland has a special interest. Before this epoch, France was looked upon as the great home of all thought and culture by the people of the cantons, and French literature and French ideas were accordingly their only sources of interest or instruction. Against these influences a strong reaction now commenced in favour of the ideas and literature of Great Britain. This reaction was greatly aided, if not created, in the German-speaking districts, by the writings of the Zürich literary critics, Bodmer and Breitinger, whose publications of the poems of the Minnesingers and fragments of the Niebelungen alone earned them renown. They first popularised in Switzerland Milton, Shakespeare, and the better-known English writers amongst their countrymen. A similar change in public taste arose in the French division, chiefly through the energetic efforts of the brothers Charles and Marc Pictet who, in 1796, founded at Geneva, *La Bibliothèque britannique*, still surviving under the name of *Bibliothèque universelle*.

Amongst many others of more than local celebrity that now so suddenly came to the fore are Johann Sulzer (1720-1779), of Winterthur, the author of the *Dictionaire des Beaux-Arts*, justly regarded as the creator of a national artistic taste, and who was chosen as a

Professor at Berlin, and elected a member of the French Academy; Johann Lavater (1741-1801), the eloquent and persuasive politician, poet, and learned scientist, whose celebrated work on human physiognomy has been translated into every modern language, and still holds its own as a standard classic; Johann Bernoulli, who at 18 years of age possessed such a thorough acquaintance with the exact sciences that few among his many famous contemporaries excelled him in knowledge; Albert von Haller, the famed patrician, politician, physician, poet and master of many sciences, of whom Bern and his country are justly proud; Hirzel, of Zürich, the patriot, philanthropist and originator of the Swiss novel dealing with peasant life; Diderot and d'Alembert published their famous encyclopædia at Yverdun; Gessner, the poet and novelist; Henri Pestalozzi (1746-1827), to whom we are indebted for the first practical system of primary instruction. Pestalozzi revolutionised popular education, and his methods were adopted by nearly all European countries with marked success, while he himself died poor and almost forgotten; Zimmermann, the physician, writer and original thinker, whose fame caused him to be sought by both George II. and Frederick the Great as their special attendant; and among historians and men of letters, Isaac Iselin (1728-1782), and Johann Müller, the author of the famous history of the Confederation, will always stand in the first rank; Mesmer, the introducer of mesmerism; Bonnet, the naturalist and philosopher; De Saussure and Tissot, both scientific physicians of unusual merit, the former being also the first geologist to make the ascent of Mont Blanc; Jean de Lolme, the Swiss writer and

critic of English Parliamentary institutions; Necker (the father of Madame de Staël), the celebrated financial minister of Louis XVI.; Clavière, the successor of Necker; and lastly, Jean Jacques Rousseau, who has already been referred to. Through the efforts of many of the above, several important societies for mutual instruction or the furthering of national education now for the first time were formed. Of these by far the chief was established by Iselin and Hirzel in 1761, and called the *Societé helvétique*. The meetings were held at Schinznach, and here most of the men of mark in the Swiss literary and scientific world met and discussed their special branches of learning. The Society's first great practical result was the publication of Müller's History of the Swiss Confederation. In spite of the good and non-political work done at Schinznach, the different Cantonal Governments viewed the meetings with great suspicion, judging, from past experience, that it was impossible for a body of men of different creeds and districts to meet together for other than political motives. In consequence of this opposition, even Müller's great work could only be published under an assumed name, and as if it had been printed in America. Many and important works followed that considerably advanced the cause of learning, and did much to make many Swiss forget their ancient jealousies, and come closer together as brothers of a common Fatherland. Finally, the further meetings of the Helvetic Society were forbidden, and many of its publications ordered to be burnt (1780).

The condition of public education at the commencement of the 18th century was deplorable. The great mass of the people were without even the

rudiments of instruction, and without the means of acquiring them. Soon, however, the energetic writings and practical example of Pestalozzi and other public-spirited men brought about a great change, and many good schools and colleges were established in those cantons where they were most urgently required. In many localities also a marked increase in trade and industry showed itself, and clearly indicated the decidedly altered characteristics of the people. So great indeed was the change from the love of fighting—always till then so marked a national trait in the Swiss—that the French King made frequent representations to the Confederates that he was unable to obtain recruits for his army from the cantons as formerly. In Geneva the manufacture of watches became a source of great wealth to the city, the industry taking rapid root and growth from the time when, in 1679, Daniel Richard first made a perfected watch there. At and around St. Gallen, the work done in manufacturing muslins, cloth and embroidery was considerable, as was also the making of cotton and silk goods in Schwyx, Glarus, Zürich and Basel. The manufacture and general use of tobacco and snuff came prominently forward in this period, and did much to change the habits of the people. Another feature to be noted was the extraordinary impulse given to emigration. To America many thousands of Swiss journeyed, while in 1768, at the instance of Don Carlos III., great numbers of both Protestants and Catholics left their country and settled in the South of Spain, where they formed towns and villages that rapidly grew in size and prosperity. In spite of these drains upon the population of Switzerland, the people

New Industries.

of the cantons, together with their subjects, when this period closed, numbered close upon a million and a half.

Such is a short glance at the condition of Switzerland during the period that preceded her invasion by the French. We must now enter on the narrative of the humiliation and terrible sufferings through which the Swiss were doomed to pass before they again became a free, united and prosperous nation.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SWISS REVOLUTION

In Switzerland, as in the greater part of Western Europe, important political changes took place shortly after the great Revolution in Paris. These changes were not effected till a long series of misfortunes brought the country to the deepest depths of misery, and till the ancient Confederation was broken up, and Switzerland practically annexed to France. For a time, while the great powers were covering Europe with battle-fields, the Swiss maintained their neutrality and their partial independence; but only at the cost of national honour. Humbly they submitted to every affront forced on them, in the name of liberty, by each of the many bands of unscrupulous or fanatical men, whom the wild whirlpool of that mad age brought, for a brief period, to the helm of French politics. But soon neither abject servility nor conciliatory compromise could save the cantons from being flooded by the terrible sea of blood that beat against her rocky frontiers. Attacked from without, lacerated in every limb by the stabs of contending religious or political factions, and wounded in her most vital centres by the open revolts of her own people, the Swiss Confederation at last succumbed, and finished the work of her foreign foes by self-destruction. Before entering on a consideration of the disasters that now fell thick and fast upon

Switzerland, a glance must be cast over the social and political state of France, to which nation the Swiss were bound for a long period by many alliances and by close ties of friendship, self-interest and mercenary greed. It is impossible to understand the course of events in the cantons without tracing their progress also in France, as the two people were in many important particulars practically one nation. A large portion of the Swiss lived in close proximity to, and spoke the language of, the French, to whom they looked for assistance to better their social condition and from whom they derived many of their political ideas. Over 13,000 Swiss troops were actually serving as mercenaries in the French army, and many thousands more were living in France either from choice or as exiles for political offences in their own land. A not unimportant part was taken by the Swiss residents in Paris in bringing about the Revolution, and when that great social upheaval became an accomplished fact, some of the most popular leaders were natives of the Confederation. Not only were many of the people of Switzerland in intimate touch with those of France, sharing their miseries and dreaming their dreams of coming emancipation, but the French Government itself had for a long time kept on close terms of friendship with the cantonal authorities, over whom it exercised a powerful influence.

Condition of France.

Three great divisions separated the people of France into distinct sections between which the barriers were fixed and impassable. These were the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Commons, or *Tiers état.*

The Nobles.

The first numbered the members of the *ancienne noblesse*, and was freely recruited by new creations. As

the nobles stood to the rest of the people in the proportion of 1 to 250, they formed numerically a very important body. Their rank entitled them to many privileges which every year became more fantastic and intolerant. They were exempted from most of the taxes, from the obligation of the hated corvée, and from compulsory military service, while they claimed by right most of the lucrative offices at Court, and in the government and army, and exercised many of the rights of the feudal age. Indeed personal servitude was only finally abolished a few years before the Revolution.

The Clergy.

The clergy were numerous, rich and powerful, and usually quite unfitted by their ignorance and licentiousness to act as spiritual guides to their still more ignorant flocks. According to Necker, their annual income amounted to 130 millions of livres, and their possessions in real property to a fifth of the whole soil of France. They were generally hated by the people for their intolerance and arrogance, and for the lives they led of open and gross sensuality, though even in that superstitious and coarse age there were many pious priests, whose noble example and unselfish devotion did much to brighten and lighten the lives of the wretched.

The Commons.

The *Tiers état*, the third social class, consisted of the vast majority of the French people. It bore almost exclusively the whole burden of the taxation and labour of the country; it was forced to do much arduous work, without payment, under the iniquitous system of the corvée; and from its ranks were annually taken 60,000 recruits for the army. The condition of the people was made miserable by extreme poverty, by the unjust incidence of the taxes, by the partiality and severity of

the judicial tribunals, by the Government restrictions on freedom in trade and agriculture, by the heavy custom dues, by the cruelty and arrogance of the upper classes, and by the extortions of the farmers-general, who paid a fixed price for various revenues, and made their profit by illegal exactions from the unfortunate peasants. Many articles of daily necessity, as for example salt, were terribly dear in consequence of Government monopolies and high duties. Among the wrongs that most tried the working classes, was their obligation to supply all troops quartered in their neighbourhood with free lodging, fire, candles, salt and washing, as well as forage for the cavalry horses. With difficulty many managed to drag out their miserable existence, whilst numbers died of starvation or from the brutal treatment they received at the hands of their feudal masters. Many perished amid the horrors of the galleys, to which thousands were sent for trivial offences. Many more were butchered on the numerous battle-fields, or died in foreign prisons, that resulted from the frequent and foolish wars of the period. Without education or religious instruction, personal rights, political power, or any of the humanising results of civilisation, the French peasant led a life of the deepest moral and physical degradation, removed but a little above the beasts he so often herded with. His chief function was to furnish the Court and upper classes with men to fight their battles, and with money to minister to their brutal pleasures.

The Court.

Not to go further back than the time of Louis XIV. (1643-1715), the Courts of the Monarchs of France present but exaggerated pictures of the worst features that characterised their vicious subjects. Neither honour

nor honesty, manly virtue nor truth, could live in their fœtid atmosphere. There sovereign and nobles vied with one another in the grossest forms of immorality, and highly honoured the inventor of every novel enormity that a corrupt age too readily brought forth. Courtesans, drawn from the vilest sources, associated on terms of equality with queens and the great ladies of the old nobility, ruled the king and his ministers, appointed or dismissed the highest state officers, squandered enormous sums of money on their personal pleasures, and often absolutely governed the destinies of the nation. The greatest men of the time obsequiously flattered and bowed before the ignorant and degraded women, whose favour was the surest passport to success, and whose displeasure meant certain ruin. In an age when a Pompadour or a Duberri exercised greater power than a Monarch of France, nothing was impossible to the vicious or possible to the virtuous. And yet neither of these historical and notorious women could be regarded as either immoral or unscrupulous by comparison with the swarms of the far more unscrupulous and licentious men and women that surrounded them.

When the Revolution of Eighty-nine at last broke out, and the horrors of the Terror cleansed France of some of the foulest of her many social sores, the people were well prepared by their past treatment to work a terrible vengeance. Immediately before that epoch the chief and most pressing reforms demanded were those connected with the corvée, the unequal pressure of the taxes, liberty of conscience, uniform laws and impartial administration of justice, separation of civil power from clerical interference, establishment of public education,

Church discipline, curtailment of the monarchical power, and economy and ability, with impartial administration, in the Government.

To credit France with originating the events that rapidly altered the political aspect of Switzerland, after the great Paris Revolution, is a grave error. That not only Switzerland, but the greater part of Western Europe, did undergo very great changes shortly after the rising of the French is a matter of history, but that they stand in relation of cause and effect is quite untrue. In many of the chief centres of industrial and political activity of the Confederation, the great majority of the people had long been fully prepared to seize the first opportunity to rebel against their cruel masters, and indeed in Geneva, Bern, and other places had often done so. Want of union always made such attempts fruitless. In France the greater brilliancy of the political agitators, writers and speakers, the vivid blaze of the actual rising in Paris, and the extent and brilliancy of the initial successes of the Republican armies, obscure the less glaring but not the less potent causes that were at work to effect very radical changes among the people of the cantons, as in other countries outside France. Moreover, the gradual growth of these changes from pre-existing evolutionary conditions is also lost sight of. The people of England were, in 1649, already advanced sufficiently to signalise their emancipation from the thraldom of despotism, by setting up a republic in place of a monarchy. Having re-admitted a king, they were compelled in 1688 again to change their rulers, and establish a more constitutional form of government, as in spite of their previous salutary lesson to despotism, their sovereign was unable or unwilling to govern in accord-

ance with popular rights. The Americans were the next people to advance, and by their Revolution in 1774 they established their national and individual freedom. The prominent part taken by France in the war between England and America brought the two nations into close touch, and leavened the people of monarchical France and their Swiss neighbours with the new republican sentiments and energetic methods of the United States.

Thus we find the great scheme of social evolution doing its work for the elevation of man with different degrees of speed among different races, in different lands. Among the practical Anglo-Saxons of England its progress was quicker than among the more sentimental and theoretical races of France and Switzerland. An aversion to noise has always been a characteristic of the English in their public or private acts. In America, the infusion of foreign blood and the nature of the new environment account for the intermediate position she holds in point of time, between the French and the people of the Motherland, in civilisation. Nature's work, far from being done only spasmodically, as at the great Revolutionary epochs of history, is always in progress, and though accentuated at times, when she hands in the report of what she has already accomplished or proposes to do, she is in reality leisurely pursuing her path with very little increase of pace. The missing links in the sequence of events may be lost, or only mislaid, but they still exist. The plodding patience of long years of toil passes unnoticed in the importance placed on some eventful period. Nature's methods are seldom lovely, nor do the times she chooses to show her accounts seem particularly happily selected,

according to human judgment. But humanity judges only with a portion of nature's brain.[1]

Already, in the middle of the 16th century, the condition of France showed the people were nearly ripe to assert their right to live, and something more. But during the long reign of Louis XIV. the brilliant successes of the French arms abroad, the territorial conquests, and the splendid vices of the Grand Monarque, so inflamed the national vanity (a quality inseparable from the character of almost every Frenchman), that the poor often forgot their sufferings, or rather forgot that they supplied both men and money others reaped so much credit from. So great, indeed, was the effect of the dazzling superficial brilliance of France during Louis XIV.'s reign in stifling popular aspirations, that it required all the "vile degenerate, meanly bad" vices of his ignoble successor, and the humiliations France underwent abroad in the latter years of that despicable sovereign's reign, as well as the example of the American Revolution, to bring the French to a real appreciation of the miseries of their condition, and the necessity of taking steps to bring about a change. The murderous, expensive, and disastrous conflicts of the Austrian succession, the Seven Years' War, the loss of Canada, Nova Scotia and the other North American colonies, besides Granada, Dominica and Tobago, the abortive attempt

1 To the average mind it would seem more in accordance with justice had the people of England waited a little longer before they rebelled, and executed the debauched and thoroughly bad Charles II., instead of his colourless, but on the whole harmless predecessor. So also with the French, instead of executing the licentious Louis XIV., or the still more brutal and vile Louis XV., the victim selected to sacrifice before the altar of an outraged public sentiment was the virtuous and feeble-minded Louis XVI.

to invade England, the national financial exhaustion, the gross licentiousness of the Court, the extravagance of the royal mistresses, the vast sums squandered on the royal harem of the Parc aux Cerfs, and the complete indifference shown by king and nobles to the needs of the nation, caused even the sluggish mind of the French peasant to devise projects of release from his wretched condition. The time was now fully ripe, the fire was prepared, and only a fitting opportunity and an easy victim were wanted to enable the people to obtain a savage revenge, and, by destroying the whole rotten and loathsome edifice of the old *régime*, once more try to find the lost road that led to civilisation and material prosperity.

No more appalling picture of gross immorality and general depravity, than existed in the 18th century throughout all classes of society in France, can be found in any European country since Christianity first opened a new era in the world's history. From the Court, where professional harlots and great ladies rivalled the King, nobles, and Church dignitaries in the enormity of their vices, down to the most brutalised of the peasant classes, France was one seething mass of moral and physical corruption. It would be difficult to choose from amongst the worst of the Roman Emperors (allowing for the difference in civilisation), four more degraded and vicious men than Louis XV., the Regent Philippe d'Orléans, Dubois (Cardinal and Prime Minister), and Ritz (Archbishop of Paris). Yet these were during their time of power regarded as men to be honoured and obeyed. Vices that would have scandalised the traditional Cities of the Plain, flourished openly among the sexless profligates of Parisian Society.

In vain did Louis XIV. attempt to stem the flood of mire, by ordering two of his sons to be flogged publicly before the Court for offences even that past master of profligacy was unable to condone. When an Archbishop of Paris could maintain openly four mistresses and carry off by violence a woman who took his fancy, without exciting public censure, it is little wonder that morality among the clergy generally was at the lowest.

Though the century may be looked upon as the golden age of literature and learning in France, most of the great literary lights that then so suddenly appeared, prostituted their genius by pandering to fashionable vices, by elaborating sensual and materialistic philosophies, or by fantastic schemes for the regeneration of humanity. In France, more than elsewhere, the literature of any period is a faithful reflex of the popular taste. Judging the latter by this standard, it was a confused mass of nauseous sensuality and religious indifference, thinly covered by epigrammatic witticisms and shallow paradoxes. Voltaire was the type of the one, Rousseau of the other. The 18th century was an age of universal irreligion, but an age of rigid orthodoxy, when the greatest miscreants firmly believed the dogmas of their Church, regularly attended her services, and obeyed her outward observances. Every witty sarcasm launched against religion or her ministers was permitted and applauded, so long as the scoffer did not assail the accepted doctrines of Rome. By the Church and society the "unsound" were treated as criminals, the practically pious tolerated as harmless eccentrics. The French Abbé became the type of all that was at once vivacious, profligate, worldly and religious.

Condition of Switzerland.

The condition of Switzerland in many respects

closely resembled that of her French neighbours. Especially was this the case as regards her strict social divisions, the arrogance of her upper classes, and the poverty, ignorance and superstition of her peasants. But in one important point she always showed a distinct individuality. Though among the labouring classes immorality was probably as common as in France, the wealthier and learned never approached in the tone of their living the licentiousness that characterised that of the neighbouring nation. This resulted in great measure from the firm and permanent hold religion exercised over the educated rulers of Switzerland, and the system of espionage that grew up in all the towns under the guidance of the Church. The period of the Reformation was too recent, and the lessons then taught too thorough, to be forgotten easily. So among the people of the Catholic Cantons the tone of religion was much higher, and the lives of its ministers much purer, than in France.

In a large portion of the Confederation, especially in Vaud, Valais, Freyburg and Basel, when the 18th century drew towards its close, the people were at last thoroughly aroused, as were those of France, and eagerly awaited the dawn of a new epoch. The so-called encyclopædists and the different orders of political mountebanks had convinced their readers and hearers that great changes were about to take place. Reform was in the air. A social millennium was approaching, when all sorrows would be forgotten, all wrongs righted. While some dreaded and others hoped for the coming changes, all grades of society believed in their approaching advent.

At last the blow descended on the long-threatened

rulers, the pent-up storm of human passions burst its bonds, and the New Order commenced. The millennium was at last come. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity began their reign by plunging Paris, Switzerland and Europe generally into a sea of blood, by filling the French Capital with contending factions, by slaughtering 800 Swiss guards before the Tuileries, and by the legalised murder of the King and Queen of France and 1,386 men, women and children. Many of the most prominent actors in the great revolutionary drama, including Marat, the arch-fiend of the Terror, were Swiss, and it was greatly due to their influence that their country was invaded and the ancient Confederation destroyed.

Club helvétique, A.D. 1789.

After the taking of the Bastille by the mob in July, 1789, many of the more violent of the Swiss, then resident in Paris, set themselves to follow the example of the French and overthrow the governments of their own country. In order the better to do this, they formed an association—the notorious *Club helvétique*, which exercised great power in the revolutionary movement. The club was formally opened in June, 1791, and shortly numbered more than 300 members, and obtained the patronage and active support of several of the most advanced deputies in the National Assembly, as Mirabeau, Brisson, Desmoulins and Sillery. Through the influence of their allies, the club obtained a vote of the Assembly, liberating two of their countrymen from the galleys at Brest where they had been sent for participation in a rising against Freyburg. Both men were brought to Paris, where a "Te Deum" was celebrated in their honour, a special performance of *L'honnête Criminel* was

A.D. 1791.

given by the Comédie Française, and they were fêted and taken through the streets with bands and processions carrying the convicts' chains and displaying Swiss flags, amid the enthusiastic shouts of the people of "*Vivent nos bons amis les Suisses.*" A different spectacle was destined to be seen at no distant date, when this same Parisian mob tore to pieces 800 of their *bons amis* before the palace of the Tuileries. Not content with agitating in France, many of the most able of the club members boldly re-entered their own country, and by preaching the doctrines of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, did their best to arouse their brethren from their torpor. They even succeeded in infecting the Swiss mercenary troops, and brought about a general condition of undiscipline among them that culminated in a very serious loss of life. Taking part with the people in a rising against the authorities, the Swiss stationed at Nancy broke out of their quarters, plundered their military chest, and fought the government troops sent to suppress the revolt. After several hours' obstinate fighting, the rebels were beaten, but not till nearly 500 officers and men were slain. Meanwhile, all the efforts of the Cantonal Governments to protect the Swiss regiments from further trouble, and to counteract the action of the club, were unavailing. Their demands for its summary suppression and the extradition of its members, though supported by Louis XVI., were refused by the Assembly, and at last Freyburg publicly offered large sums for the lives of the chief agitators. This premium on assassination proved equally inefficacious, and the club became more active than ever, especially directing its attention to creating discontent and revolts

Mutiny of Swiss Mercenaries.

within the Confederation itself. The first result in Switzerland of any importance from this agitation took place in the Lower Valais, where the people suffered much from the unjust rule of their German masters of the Upper Districts. A serious general revolt broke out, Trees of Liberty were planted, and green cockades and other symbols of freedom displayed. Inferiority in arms and numbers, want of discipline and cohesion, and the absence of any central supreme authority brought, however, the movement to an inglorious end, and only led to the exercise of greater severity and the imposition of further burdens.

Revolts in Lower Valais.

The frustrated flight of Louis XVI., the threatening manifesto of the Powers, and the invasion of the Prussians, gave the final signal to bring on the real action of the Revolution. Marat, Danton and Robespierre had settled the details of the rising that was to overthrow the Bourbon monarchy, and even fixed the date. On the morning of the memorable 10th of August every approach to the Tuileries was packed with a raging mob, numbering close on 100,000, gathered from every section of society, though principally made up of the lowest refuse from the slums of Paris and Marseilles. As defenders of the Palace and its royal inmates, were stationed 800 of the Swiss Guards, supported by the handful of National Guards who still remained faithful to the King. And now, when the old Swiss Confederation was rapidly tottering to its grave, this little band of Swiss in a foreign land, surrounded by hosts of bloodthirsty enemies, ably proved themselves worthy descendants of the men of Morgarten, Sempach, and the many other fields of

Massacre of Swiss Guards, Aug. 10, 1792

heroic daring that had made and upheld the Swiss nation.

Fearlessly they faced and repelled the furious attacks of the thousands of desperate men who, armed with every kind of weapon, again and again attempted to force a way into the Palace to slaughter the Royal Family. And not only did the Swiss hold their ground, they actually drove back their opponents, who at last seemed on the point of giving up the enterprise and dispersing. At this critical moment the vacillating character of Louis, who had determined to throw himself on the protection of the Assembly, induced him to give the order to cease firing. The order cost the King and his heroic defenders dear. The Swiss had already shown their bravery, they now showed still more heroically their sense of duty and discipline. Finding themselves no longer opposed, the murderous mob, drunk with their bloody debauch, rushed in and hacked the remnants of the Guards to death. Eight alone, by being taken prisoners, survived the fatal day, and of these nearly all perished amid the horrors of the following month, when Marat's butcheries brought so many victims to the blood-drenched jaws of the insatiable guillotine. The courage, the discipline and the sense of duty shown by the Swiss Guards, have been sang in every tongue and will never be forgotten as long as true heroism is ranked first among the virtues. The following eulogy of their conduct, in the rugged eloquence of Carlyle, expresses the thoughts of many in words few know how to utter: — "Honour to you, brave men; honourable pity, through long times! Not martyrs were ye; and yet more. He was no King of yours, this Louis; and he forsook you like a

King of shreds and patches; ye were but sold to him for some poor sixpence a day; yet would ye work for your wages, keep your plighted word. The work now was to die; and ye did it. Honour to you, O Kinsmen; and may the old Deutsch *Biederkeit* and *Tapferkeit*, and valour which is *Worth* and *Truth*, be they Swiss, be they Saxon, fail in no age! . . . Let the traveller, as he passes through Luzern, turn aside to look a little at their monumental Lion; not for Thorwaldsen's sake alone. Hewn out of living rock, the figure rests there, by the still lake waters, in lullaby of distant-tinkling *rance-des-vaches*, the granite mountains dumbly keeping watch around; and, though inanimate, speaks."

The conduct of the Swiss Guards stands in striking contrast to that of their countrymen when news of the massacre became known to the cantons. In the old days of Swiss valour every Swiss valley would have produced its band of avengers, and every Swiss mountain would have echoed the cries of vengeance of suddenly created peasant warriors. Now, however, all was changed. In September a Diet assembled at Aarau, and after much discussion, ordered the recall of the remaining Swiss regiments. Bern, indeed, appealed for a general arming throughout the Confederacy, and called for the instant dismissal of the French Minister, but her proposals met with no response in the cantons, and no action was taken.

Diet of Aarau, Sept., 1792.

At the commencement of her warlike career the policy of the French Republic was directed to coerce the Swiss authorities by threats of invasion to maintain the neutrality of the cantons against her enemies, but especially against the Austrians. On their side

Swiss Neutrality.

the Confederates were only too anxious to conciliate their powerful neighbours and prevent their own unruly subjects from seizing the opportunity of the presence of foreigners to rebel and throw off the rule of the wealthy classes. The tactics of the French were so far successful that the Confederate Diet formally declared the neutrality of Switzerland, a neutrality that the Austrian Emperor magnanimously declared he would scrupulously respect. Shortly after the declaration was issued the French showed their gratitude by summarily dismissing all the Swiss troops still remaining in France. These, numbering some 10,000, were allowed to reach their native country as best they could, without help; their arrears of pay were withheld, and their pensions due under the terms of their enlistment cancelled. Even this act of arbitrary injustice, which appealed to the national honour and (what was more to the purpose) to the national purse, failed to rouse the Swiss to the gravity of the danger that threatened their country. They continued their policy of temporising, and that in spite of the daily increase of discontent among the people consequent on the numbers of French agitators that overran the cantons. In Paris the invasion of Switzerland became a matter of open discussion by the Swiss Club and by members of the Girondin party who then held power. The latter is generally credited with having definitely planned the invasion for the winter of 1792-3. Before that time arrived the kaleidescope of French politics dismissed the Girondins and brought Robespierre to the front, a man who, with all his crimes, acted honourably and humanely to the Swiss, for whom he always professed the greatest

esteem. "Robespierre seems to have abandoned the plan of revolutionary proselytism adopted by his predecessors, his attention being chiefly turned to the interior of France. Another reason may have contributed to the moderation shown by the terrorist government towards the Swiss. Lyons and Marseilles were in insurrection against the convention, Toulon was occupied by the allies. Had the Swiss marched 20,000 men to the assistance of Lyons, while the Sardinian troops were advancing in the same direction through Savoy, they might have turned the scale, have saved Lyons, and overthrown the power of Robespierre in September, 1793. And it seems that some proposals to that effect were made to the cantons by Austria and Sardinia, which, however, led to no result. All the measures of the allies in that eventful period were ill-combined or ill-fated"—(Vieusseux).

Basel, A.D. 1791.

In Switzerland many serious events were clearly pointing to her coming ruin. In Basel, the people had long been restless under the rule of the Bishop, who refused all demands for popular rights, and especially for the re-establishment of the people's Assembly. At last, in 1791, a general rising took place. In this emergency the Prelate appealed to his allies, the Confederates, to support his authority, but the Swiss Government had sufficient to do to support their own. He next turned, as a Prince of the Empire, to the Austrian ruler, who promptly sent a force of cavalry and infantry to occupy Porrentruy. In the following year, when war broke out between the Republic and Austria, the French drove the Imperial garrison out, and by occupying Porrentruy themselves, obtained command of the Jura Passes

and came into close contact with the cantons of Bern and Solothurn. Still Switzerland made no A.D. 1792. sign. Neither did she interfere when the French forcibly converted their allies' territory into the Rauracian Republic. To give a proof of the genuineness of their claim to be regarded as the apostles of liberty, the French allowed their new Republic a lease of three months' independence, and then took possession of the whole territory for themselves, incorporating it into France under the fantastic title of the department of Mont Terrible (1798). Thus it A.D. 1798 remained till 1800, when it once more underwent a change by becoming a simple sous-prefecture of the Upper Rhine.

Geneva. In the same year that witnessed the loss of a portion of Basel, Geneva nearly suffered the same fate. During the period of war between France and Savoy, the position of Geneva, her wealth, and her weakness from constant political troubles, excited the wish of the French to capture her. This desire found an ardent supporter in the then Minister of Finances, Clavière, himself a native of Geneva. Through his advice a despatch was forwarded to the General commanding the forces operating against Savoy, in which he was ordered to occupy Geneva, either by force or stratagem, to proclaim the principles of the great Republic, and "to send the 20,000 good muskets it contained to France, where they were much wanted." The designs of the French becoming known, Bern made one of her rare efforts at decided action, and by promptly marching a large force to the rescue of the threatened city, saved it for the time. During the next few years Geneva managed

to keep her independence, but the turbulence of her people and the active agitation within her walls of the French agents, soon brought about her fall. Shortly after the evacuation of the city by the Swiss garrison revolts began, which, becoming more and
A.D. 1793. more serious, culminated in 1793 in a veritable reign of terror. The Councils were deposed and replaced by a convention and a Committee of Public Safety upon the Paris model; all trade came to an end,
A.D. 1794. and general anarchy followed. In July, 1794, the dominant revolutionary party seized the fortifications, turned the cannon against the town, and arrested several hundred citizens, many of whom were at once murdered. Property was confiscated, the wealthy executed, exiled, or imprisoned, and heavy contributions were levied on all those who possessed any
A.D. 1795. kind of property. In 1795, wearied with continued atrocities, a reaction set in among the people, and the old Constitution was re-established. In this condition Geneva remained, with intervals of fresh disturbances, till it was finally taken by the French in April, 1798, in a manner to be related later, and became the chief town of the department of Léman.

With the advent to power of the Directory, in 1795, every excuse was seized to take possession of Switzerland. Peremptory messages continually arrived from Paris ordering the cantonal authorities to expel the refugee clergy of Savoy and the French emigrants from their territories. All manner of false charges were laid to the account of the Swiss, among others, of favouring nations hostile to France by permitting their troops to cross the Confederate frontiers, of circulating forged assignats, and of conspiring with the

English minister against the Republic. Nothing seems to have been proved contrary to the stipulated neutrality of Switzerland, or against the law of nations. No insult, however, that could be offered to the Swiss was capable of rousing them from their cowardly attitude; they continued to hope against hope that passive neutrality and obedience to France would enable them to weather the storm that was shipwrecking so many others around them. The Republic had introduced new principles into warfare. According to her interpretation of the doctrine of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, no treaties were binding, and no former pledges lasting, that existed between nations whose representatives were not elected by the whole body of the people. Already, in 1792, the Convention passed a decree to be addressed to Europe, whereby it was declared "that the people of every country which was entered by French troops were invited to form themselves in a democracy, under pain of being treated as enemies should they prefer to return to their ancient form of government." Among the many who were unable to understand the advantages or morality of the latter part of this wonderful decree were the people of the democratic states of Switzerland, and, as the sequel will show, they paid terribly for their ignorance.

With the fall of Lyons, the French arms recovered the ascendency they had temporarily lost, and now the Republic began that series of brilliant successes that for a time made her the master of Europe. In 1795, she had come to terms with Prussia, Spain, and the powerful principality of Hesse-Cassel. In 1796, she again entered into a campaign with Austria, the only remaining Continental Power able to offer her serious

opposition. After the first Austrian successes, Napoleon, with his wonderful dash, forced his way into the heart of the enemy's country, spreading panic to the very gates of Vienna (1797). By the peace of Campo Formio (October 17th, 1797), England alone remained to check the further devastating career of the French Republic. One of the results of this treaty with Austria was the creation of the Cisalpine Republic, composed of the Milanese and Mantuan States.

The Graubünden.

The treaty of Campo Formio brings us to the Graubünden portions of Switzerland. Though unaffected by the French agitators, the people here were much on a par in their social and political conditions with those of the Confederacy generally. Everywhere the rigour and injustice of the ruling classes caused great discontent, that showed itself in frequent popular revolts. Especially was this apparent in the subject Bailiwicks of the Val Tellina with the districts of Bormio and Chiavenna. When Napoleon crowned his Italian triumphs with the subjugation of the Austrians, the peasant subjects of the Graubünden seized on his appearance to appeal for protection against their masters. The position was at once accepted, and Napoleon sent the Leagues the alternative of granting equal rights and liberties with themselves to their subjects, or losing their allegiance altogether. Divided councils and local jealousies prevented the authorities from arriving at a decision before the expiration of the time given them, whereupon Napoleon put his threat into execution, and incorporated the Italian Bailiwicks into the newly-formed Cisalpine Republic. By this act a territory of nearly a thousand square miles, containing a hundred thousand

Italian Bailiwicks.

A.D. 1797.

inhabitants, was at one stroke torn from Switzerland (October 28th, 1797). In giving his decision, Napoleon laid down the principle, that "a people cannot be the subjects of another nation without violating all the natural rights of man," a declaration that reads somewhat cynically when compared with the manner in which the French treated the different races they themselves subdued. "At this period the French Republic had acquired a colosssal strength. . . . But the French rulers were not content with planting the tricoloured flag on the summit of Mont Blanc, on the left bank of the Rhine, and at the mouth of the Scheldt, and with establishing the limits of their empire by the natural boundaries of the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the ocean. With a view to secure their territories against the future aggressions of the Continental Powers, they purposed to form a series of dependent republics along the line of their frontiers, as a kind of outwork, to remove the point of attack. At the extremities of this line they had already established the Ligurian and Batavian Republics; the Cisalpine soon followed. A connecting link of this chain was Switzerland, which covered the most vulnerable parts of the French territory; and, from its natural strength and central position, formed the citadel of Europe"—(Coxe).

Napoleon in Switzerland.

France now set about in earnest the work of capturing the "Citadel of Europe." Leaving Italy, after the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, Napoleon passed through Switzerland on his way to take part, as minister plenipotentiary, in the Congress of Rastadt. At Lausanne he met with an enthusiastic reception at the hands of the people, who were then

eager to throw off the yoke of their Bernese masters. At Bern, though received with the utmost respect, he refused all the attentions offered him, and treated the authorities with the utmost contempt. At Solothurn, the unpolished and morose magistrates could so little accommodate themselves to the honour due to the hero of the day, that they inflicted a long term of imprisonment on their commander of artillery for saluting Napoleon on his passage through the city. This punishment was, however, promptly cancelled on the peremptory demand of the French Minister. On arriving at Basel, Napoleon is reported to have expressed the feelings he harboured against the Swiss by exclaiming that he was at last in a free land, and in a true republic.

Bern.

The only Swiss State at this time really able to oppose the coming storm was Bern, and even she was threatened by her own subjects, and herself divided into two factions, one in favour of the French and one in favour of their own country. The gravity of the crisis, consequent upon France's open menaces, now became so great that a spasmodic and feverish life was suddenly given to the expiring patriotism of the Swiss. On

A.D. 1798.

January 25th, 1798, the deputies of the several cantons assembled at Aarau and there solemnly renewed their federal oaths and swore to maintain their alliance and together defend their Fatherland. But the time was long past when brave words could call forth brave deeds. Basel had already revolted, and now recalled her deputies from the Diet, which separated shortly afterwards without agreeing upon any definite and combined action. No sooner had the members left than a revolution broke out in the town, and its independence

was publicly declared. Several regiments in the neighbourhood were also infected with the same spirit, and at once mutinied, and refused to obey their officers or support the authorities. In this emergency Bern acted with a show of her former vigour, and, by marching fresh troops on Aarau, repressed the rising, punished the leaders, and reasserted her authority. Less fortunate with her Vaudois subjects, she was soon called upon to withstand the whole weight of the French arms and defend, unaided, the moribund honour and independence of the country.

Basel. A number of revolutionary movements now broke out in different centres of Switzerland which, by their success, completely changed the political aspect of the country. For a long time the peasants of Basel had been on the point of revolting against the citizen authorities, and had their discontent kept alive by the presence of French emissaries, who industriously worked to bring about a revolt. In the beginning of 1798 the revolutionary party made such progress that the supporters of the old order were in a very small majority. Though the French agents actively followed out the instructions of their Government, the progress they made did not satisfy the Directory. Accordingly, on December 13th, 1797, without any provocation, Moulier and Erguel, subjects of the Prince-bishop of Basel, were occupied by French troops. Finally, a "Tree of Liberty" was publicly planted, a declaration of rights drawn up at a General Assembly of the people, embodying the principles of Equality and Liberty for all, a representative Provisional Government established, and the superior privileges of the citizens over the rural inhabitants abolished. No bloodshed took place over these radical

A.D. 1798.

February 5.

changes, as the authorities, finding themselves without sufficient support, quietly resigned. One of the first acts of the new Government was the recall of the Basel deputy from the Confederate Diet then sitting (as already stated) at Aarau. "Thus was Basel the first branch which dropped off from the venerable tree of the Helvetic Confederacy, and gave an example which others soon followed with as much levity as infatuation" —(Planta).

Mühlhausen. The Swiss allied town of Mühlhausen was completely surrounded by French troops. Unlike many other centres, the revolutionary spirit made very little headway here. Every effort had been made by the French to induce the people to demand their protection and seek incorporation into the Republic. In spite of this, they preferred their own form of government, and during two years held out against the blockade the French established around the city. All trade came to an end, and only when actual famine threatened them, were they forced to give in, and make the long-delayed declaration "to have the honour of joining the French Republic" (January). With the peculiar views held by the Directory in explaining every event as favourable to the principles of France, the submission of Mühlhausen was declared officially in Paris to be a purely voluntary act on the part of its down-trodden people.

A.D. 1798.

Zürich, A.D. 1798. The great power Zürich long shared with Bern gradually ebbed since the introduction of revolutionary ideas had divided her people. Several important risings, both in the city and in the rural districts, soon showed the authorities the extent of the dissatisfaction. These risings were at first promptly met, and

suppressed with unnecessary harshness. A few concessions to popular demands next followed. But meantime a number of influential leaders who had been exiled for political offences, returned, and bringing hopes of French protection, an active and formidable agitation soon led to open rebellion. A government order for a general disarming met with a storm of opposition, that, growing every day more serious, at last compelled the authorities to succumb. An assembly of the people drew up a new Constitution, *Jan. 17.* similar to that of Basel, and a government in accordance with popular ideas replaced the old one. After these changes a feeling of alarm spread through the canton concerning the intentions of the French, but notwithstanding this, the efforts of the new government to enrol troops for the national defence proved futile. The people still believed that, as they had followed the advice and example of the Republic in reforming their government on a democratic model, their territory would not only be spared, but protected. They were violently awakened from their simple dreams when the French, shortly after the fall of Bern, made Zürich their headquarters. From Basel and Zürich the revolution rapidly spread throughout the larger cantons and Luzern (January 31st), Schaffhausen (February 8th), Solothurn (February 11th), and other important states overthrew the old order, and reformed their Constitutions upon the principles of the French Republic. In Freyburg the Government held its own, and maintained its authority till the city fell before the French invaders (March 2nd). In the smaller rural cantons where democracy in its purest and most pronounced form had for so many centuries been the sole mode of

Spread of Revolutionary Ideas.

government, the inhabitants not only absolutely refused to listen to the new ideas, but were the most obstinate, when the time came to fight, in upholding their ancient system. They made, however, one concession to the prevailing opinions throughout the rest of Switzerland, in consenting to the enfranchisement equally with themselves of the people of the subject Bailiwicks of Thurgau, Sargans, etc.

The ancient Confederation was now practically dissolved, and in its place remained nothing but a number of states, unsettled and impotent, without cohesion and without any national sentiment. The long-talked-of millennium was an accomplished fact, and the popular preachers of that paradise were now in a position of authority to give the people the blessings they had so often promised. Nature lost very little time in demonstrating to the deluded Swiss peasants who were to be the gainers, who the victims, of the changes their simplicity and cowardice had brought about.

Among the many reasons that have at different times, by different writers, been given for France violating all her previous pledges and promises by invading Switzerland after she had rendered the people helpless by inciting them, under promise of her protection, to rebellion and disunion, only two appear to be really valid. The possession of Switzerland was, doubtless, thought by her to afford both a safeguard to her eastern frontier and an advantageous point whence she might attack several of her numerous enemies, and where she might raise recruits for her diminishing armies. But another reason made France anxious to occupy the country in the position of a

conquering master. The expedition Napoleon had planned against Egypt required more money for its carrying out than the Republic's treasury could afford. Bern's reputation for stored-up wealth had for many years lost nothing through publicity. Exaggerated reports were circulated concerning the enormous treasures she held in her city vaults, and as most of the European countries were nearly drained of their resources, the possession of Bern was regarded as the only, and certainly the easiest, manner of recruiting the Republic's exhausted finances.

Bern.

In Bern, as in the other Swiss Cantons, a number of the inhabitants believed in the disinterestedness of the French in their crusade against monarchical and other arbitrary forms of government. But in Bern these did not constitute a majority, or even an important minority, numerically. Even in Vaud, where the people were in open rebellion, it seems certain that only a small portion of all the inhabitants really desired to become independent of the sovereign city, and that in spite of the harsh and often unjust rule of the local Governors. Bern's position was difficult in the extreme. Deserted by her allies and her co-states, with a powerful French force on a large portion of her frontiers, with a number of her own people loudly demanding the most sweeping changes in her administration, she found herself called upon either to submit voluntarily to be invaded and plundered, or to fight single-handed the invincible armies of France that had already crushed some of the most powerful European sovereigns. Though a strong party in Bern trusted in the promises and principles of the French Republic, no such delusions filled the minds of the majority.

When at length France threw off all disguise, and openly spoke of the invasion of Switzerland, the Government of Bern, with a sudden revival of the energy that had raised her to such power, issued an appeal to the Confederates for a general arming and united resistance. From her own subjects, especially from those of the Oberland, she at once received an enthusiastic response, and many thousands of peasants eagerly proffered their services to defend their country. But this outburst of patriotism ceased at the cantonal limits, and from elsewhere in the Confederacy little or no encouragement came. Bern's firmness, moreover, was soon weakened by the clamours of the French partisans among her Councillors.

A.D. 1797. On December 18th the Directory, by a formal decree, declared the Governments of Bern and Freyburg responsible for the lives, liberty and property of the people of Vaud, who, the decree continued, placed themselves under the protection of France in order to obtain their rights and freedom. A division at once marched toward the frontier to uphold this arbitrary act. Bern, meanwhile, appointed a Commission to investigate the complaints of her Vaudois subjects. The Commission was hastily appointed, and, after a most superficial examination, drew up a report highly favourable of the condition and loyalty of the people. Upon this report a general oath of allegiance was ordered to be taken. In consequence of this order, and the promised protection of France, those in favour

A.D. 1798. of rebellion now rose in earnest. Committees were organised to further revolutionary principles all over the territory, and at Lausanne a central headquarters was established. A party of insurgents issued from

Vevey and captured Chillon, where several influential local leaders were found and liberated (January 10th). This seizure of the famous prison was enthusiastically hailed as the counterpart of the taking of the Bastille, and as the practical dawn of Swiss liberty. Bern now mustered her forces, amounting to some 22,000 militia, and with extreme foolishness placed Colonel Weiss, a prominent so-called Liberal politician, in command. The command had previously been offered to General von Erlach, of Spiez, a tried soldier, who had already distinguished himself in the French service. Erlach was also one of the first men among the aristocratic party, and his acceptance of the post of Commander-in-Chief would have been received with enthusiasm by most of the people. Political reasons, however, induced him to give way to the Opposition leader, who, though a fluent speaker and able writer, was quite unfit for the important part assigned him. Napoleon, when at St. Helena, described Weiss as "*Un homme d'esprit qui ne voulait pas faire la guerre.*"

Col. Weiss.

Weiss left Bern with some 20,000 men, with orders from the Council to suppress the revolt in Vaud, and to re-establish the city's authority, especially at Lausanne, where the cantonal colours had been removed, and the *Republique lémanique* proclaimed (January 24th). On their side the French troops, to the number of 14,000, under General Ménard, marched towards Gex and the western shores of the Lake of Geneva. Weiss wasted his time in writing conciliatory pamphlets, in issuing proclamations that threatened and promised in turn, and in interviews with the insurgents, whom he hoped by his personal influence to induce to lay down their arms. Chillon was captured by surprise, but

little more was done, beyond making Yverdun the headquarters of the Bernese troops. Acting now on a plea for protection from some of the insurgents at Lausanne, Ménard threatened to attack Weiss should the latter persist in attempts at coercing the Vaudois. As an aide-de-camp, escorted by four mounted soldiers, was conveying this message to the Bernese headquarters, an encounter took place with a patrol, in which two of the French soldiers lost their lives. Seizing this incident as a pretext for commencing hostilities, Ménard crossed the frontier and entered Vaud (January 28th). The following day he entered Lausanne. The news of these bloodless successes spread rapidly, and caused the people of several of the neighbouring towns to throw off all allegiance to Bern and Freyburg. The effect on the latter city was so great that a new Constitution upon democratic principles was voted. Several important places, however, remained faithful, Chateau d'Oex, especially, and here the oath of allegiance was renewed and volunteers eagerly came forward to be enrolled for immediate service.

Meanwhile Bern herself was torn by factions, and henceforth vacillation became chronic. Yielding to the Liberals, the Government convened an assembly of deputies from various centres of the German territories, to decide upon immediate measures of defence. The first result of this was the forwarding of a message to the Directory, announcing Bern's intention to give up her rights over her revolted Vaudois subjects, and to remodel her own Government, and requesting the withdrawal of the French troops. A similar request was sent to General Brune, who had superseded Ménard. For reply Brune demanded the immediate

dismissal of the existing Government, and the substitution of a Provisional Committee, from which all former Councillors should be rigorously excluded.

The French Minister, Mengaud, who had been openly engaged in fomenting revolts among the people, distributed a number of copies of a document urging instant revolution throughout the canton, and sketching the outline of a new democratic Constitution. A fresh wave of patriotic enthusiasm now swept over the canton; the Liberals were, for the moment, silenced; 25,000 men appeared under the Bernese banners, and the supreme command was conferred on General von Erlach, with dictatorial powers in Vaud. Dividing his troops into three divisions, Erlach occupied the whole line from Solothurn, along the Aar, the Lakes of Morat and Neuchâtel, as far as Freyburg, a distance of nearly one hundred miles. A simultaneous attack was to be made upon the French, while a detachment, stationed in the Ormont Valley, was to fall upon Aigle, and then, marching on Vevey, attack the rear of the enemy.

At this time, the available fighting forces of the French did not number more than those of the Swiss, and had Erlach's plan been at once carried out, there can be little doubt that another victory would have been added to the valour-roll of Switzerland, as important as that which took place at Morat in 1476, when the Burgundians were so decisively defeated. Brune, however, was expecting considerable reinforcements from the army of the Rhine, and did not wish to commence hostilities till they arrived. He accordingly sent conciliatory messages to Bern, which, unfortunately, brought the peace party again to power. Orders

were sent to Erlach to withhold his hand, as negotiations were pending. An armistice, to last fifteen days, was even agreed to, March 1st being the date on which it was to expire. In vain Erlach and his most influential officers hurried to Bern and tried to convince the Council of the folly of hesitation in making the first move of attack. During the armistice, French agents industriously laboured among the Bernese troops, to persuade them to return to their homes, by promises of future benefits to be conferred by the Republican armies of liberty. Reports were also spread of the treachery of the Bernese leaders, which soon gained strength by the vacillating conduct of the Government. Proposals to and from the French for a renewal of the armistice came and went; all authority and strength, both in the capital and the army, appeared gone; and Erlach was actually deposed by the Council, and then re-instated at this most critical time. The French reinforcements, numbering 16,000 men, under Schauenburg, now arrived at Bienne, and, there being no further object to cause delay, the invaders began their long-contemplated work.

The following account of the fighting, and the disasters that now fell upon the Swiss, is taken chiefly from Planta's narrative, as it seems to accord best with the truth of what actually occurred.

On the 1st of March, before the armistice had actually expired, General Schauenburg attacked the Castle of Dornach, at the northern end of Canton Solothurn, repulsed a Bernese corps at Lengnan with great loss, and at once pushed on to Solothurn. Here a peremptory message was sent to the commandant to surrender within half-an-hour, with the threat that,

should any resistance be offered, the city would be burnt, and the garrison put to the sword. The authorities at once capitulated, with the promise that the lives and property of the inhabitants should remain inviolate. This did not prevent twenty-four neighbouring villages from being given up to plunder, and the killing of all who attempted to defend their property, or the honour of their wives. Meanwhile, another column, under General Pijon, surprised and captured Freyburg, after an obstinate resistance, from the Bernese troops stationed there. These, when further resistance was obviously useless, marched out of the city with thirty cannon and about 4,000 peasants, unmolested by the enemy, and took up a position at Saingines, about nine miles from Bern. A provisionary Committee of Government was established at Freyburg, when all the arms and ammunition were taken possession of by the French, as well as whatever else they wanted. These disasters greatly demoralised the Bernese troops, and led many of them to return to their homes, whilst, in several corps, all discipline came to an end. A large force, however, took up a strong position at Neueneck, Laupen and Gumminen, while the other division opposed to Schauenburg occupied Frauenbrunnen, to the north of Bern. In the capital all was confusion and irresolution, as the Government, either from panic or necessity, had resigned, and a body of inexperienced popular representatives constituted themselves into a Provisional Regency, and exercised, or rather represented, the chief authority (March 3rd). On the same day that the old Bernese Government ceased, the French demolished the Ossuary of the Burgundians; "and the

Directory, in reporting the occurrence to the Council of Five Hundred, mentioned, as a singular, and, no doubt, ominous coincidence, that it was destroyed by the battalions of the Côte d'or (the descendants of the Burgundians) on the very day on which the battle of Morat had been fought. It happens, however, unfortunately for the contrast, that this battle was fought on the 22nd of June."

March 5. On March 5th the French, commanded by General Rampon, began a brisk cannonade against Laupen and Neueneck, and then ordered an assault. The Bernese, though far inferior in numbers, not only held their own, but repulsed their opponents with great slaughter, compelling them to retreat some ten miles, with the loss of 2,000 men and the whole of their artillery. Eight hundred Swiss were killed, among whom were several women. On the same day, before dawn, Schauenburg surprised Frauenbrunnen, attacking it in both front and flank. In the attacking force were some 2,000 cavalry and a well-appointed battery of horse artillery, the first that ever appeared in Switzerland. In spite of the surprise and the superiority both in numbers and arms of the French, the Bernese fought with all the fury that formerly distinguished the nation. "Women, endeavouring to obstruct the effect of the artillery, are known to have placed themselves before the mouths of the cannons, and to have hung on the wheels, in order to impede their progress." Resistance, even that shown by this heroic band, was useless against the trained soldiers of France, and after leaving numbers of their men on the field, the Swiss fell back on Urteren, where a second battle was fought. From Urteren they were also dislodged, and, still

fighting, though retreating, the remnant made another stand at Grauholtz, a strong pass about four miles from Bern. From this position they were compelled by the French artillery again to retreat. Every yard between here and Bern was now disputed with dauntless gallantry; men, women and children emulating one another to defend their capital. On this memorable day no less than 180 women fell, with scythes or other weapons in their hands, on the field of battle. One was found surrounded by her two daughters and her three granddaughters—(Daguet). At last the few survivors gave up the struggle and fled. Among these Erlach, with a party of dispirited and wounded soldiers, made for the Oberlard, hoping there to organise a fresh resistance. His men, however, filled with mortification and suspicion, became frantic in their efforts to wreak their vengeance. Turning on their own officers they slew the two adjutant-generals, and throughout the night an epaulette was considered as a death-warrant, Of the surviving leaders, Steiger, the late treasurer of Bern, made his escape in disguise and reached Thun, and, after having many narrow escapes, eventually found shelter on Austrian territory. The brave Erlach was less fortunate. He was amongst the first to fall, stabbed to death by his own men, whom he had so gallantly led and ably commanded.

Capture of Bern, March 5, 1798.

At one o'clock the first French soldiers of Brun's army entered the almost deserted streets of the capital "with a degree of order and silence that appeared like a last tribute to the grandeur of Bern and the heroism of her defenders"—(Daguet). Though no formal terms were granted by the victors, a general promise was given to respect the lives and property of the citizens.

The same day that saw the downfall of Bern witnessed the planting of the inevitable "Tree of Liberty" in the city. The ceremony was performed with military honours in the presence of the French officers, and the members of the Government who still remained. At its conclusion, Frisching, the President of the Provisional Committee, turning to the French general, exclaimed, "There is your 'Tree of Liberty,' may it bring forth good fruit."

The principal object of the war was the seizure of treasure and arms, and this was done without stint. The exact amount of money actually taken from the city treasury was never made known, but it probably consisted of from twenty to thirty million livres in gold and silver. Besides this some 300 cannon, arms and accoutrements sufficient for 40,000 men, were taken from the arsenal, and the public stores were thoroughly emptied of their corn, wine, salt and other contents.

Most of this plunder from Bern was at once forwarded to Toulon, for the furnishing of the expedition then preparing for the Egyptian campaign.

With the fall of Bern the curtain descended on the second act of the drama of the overthrow of the ancient Swiss Confederation, a drama partly adopted from the French, and in which through all its phases French actors played the chief *rôles*.

CHAPTER XIX

THE HELVETIC REPUBLIC

The French crossed the Swiss frontiers in the character of avenging Liberators of a down-trodden people, as the champions of the poor and weak against the rich and powerful, and as the representatives of the heroic virtues. Directly the opposition of Bern was crushed they appeared in their true colours, as harsh and avaricious masters, whose unjust rule was enforced with far greater cruelty than the much-tried Swiss had before experienced.

The French lost little time in making the people of Switzerland understand clearly that they were expected to support their liberators so long and in such a manner as the latter chose. Though Bern, Solothurn and Freyburg were the only cantons that actively opposed the French, all the states were laid under heavy contributions, in money, arms and provisions. The word "requisition" was now for the first time introduced into the Swiss vocabulary.

In order the better to insure the prompt payment of the exorbitant sums levied to "maintain the generous deliverers," a number of the most respected men in Bern and Solothurn were seized and sent as hostages to Strasburg. Even Vaud, where the entrance of the French had been received with the most enthusiasm, was forced to contribute 700,000 livres. The clergy

of Einsiedeln and of Canton Luzern were taxed with a sum of one million. But the chief plunder was collected under the orders of the notorious Rapinat, the commissary of the Republic attached to the *armée d'Helvétie*, whose name came to be synonymous with the worst forms of merciless official robbery.[1] He began by causing seals to be affixed to all the public treasuries in Bern, Zürich and Luzern, even those that contained the money used for the care of the sick, the poor, and for other charitable purposes. He then publicly declared that the property of these cities belonged to the French Republic.

Rapinat.

He ordered further requisitions, chiefly to be levied on the patrician families, forcibly stole many valuable objects of art from the churches, or from public or private buildings, and in many other ways showed himself an expert pupil of the most able and successful robber of modern times.

New Constitutions.

The Swiss Confederation was now officially declared by the Directory to exist no longer. In its place was decreed first a division of the whole country, with the exception of the Graubünden, into three Republics. These were *La Rhodanique*, made up of the territories of Freyburg, Valais, Ticino, Léman, Gessenay, and the Oberland; *L'Helvétie*, of Basel, Aargau, Baden, Schaffhausen, Zürich, St. Gallen, Thurgau, Appenzell, Sargans, Luzern, Bern and Solothurn; *La Telliane*, of the primitive Forest States,

1 The following satirical verse by Phillippe Bridel expressed the opinion the contemporary Swiss formed of Rapinat:

"La Suisse qu'on pille et qu'on ruine
Voudrait bien que l'on décidât,
Si Rapinat vient de rapine,
Ou rapine de Rapinat."

Obwald being excluded. This division, the creation of General Brune, assisted by the French residents and several prominent Swiss, was found practically so impossible that after enduring for seven days, it was annulled, and a cut-and-dried Constitution for a "Helvetic Republic, one and indivisible," was forwarded from Paris, for the government of the whole of Switzerland, including the Graubünden. In this new departure the general plan was based upon the model of the French Republic, and the sovereign cantons disappeared in becoming departments or simple prefectures.

Helvetic Republic, one and indivisible, Mar. 29, 1798.

The Government consisted of a Senate, a Grand Council, and a Directory. Each of the new twenty-two departments returned four Senators and eight Councillors. The two Assemblies discussed and passed the laws, and these were then carried out by the Directory, consisting of five members (elected by the Senators and Councillors), one presiding over each of the chief departments of the state, as the Interior, Finance, Foreign Affairs, etc. Each department was governed in its special affairs by a *préfet national* and a legislative chamber. Moreover, a high court for capital charges and for appeal in civil matters was constituted, composed of one member from each department. Provision for a standing army and for a national militia was made, and Aarau was fixed on as the seat of Government. The representatives of ten departments met at Aarau, under French protection, and on the 12th of April accepted and proclaimed this Constitution, whilst twelve departments—those in the eastern divisions—either hesitated or positively rejected it. By this scheme the sovereignty of the larger cantons was broken, and all the states placed on an equal

A.D. 1798.

April 12.

footing. Equal rights and liberty for all were now for the first time guaranteed. Still, though theoretically the new Constitution presented many features more in accordance with the spirit of the times, and promised greater benefits for the people at large than the system it displaced, it was in reality too sudden a change, and far too uniform to be a success amongst such very conservative and differently constituted people as were those of Switzerland. It had, moreover, the sentimental objection of being created by foreign agents, and the very practical one of being enforced by foreign bayonets. Neither did the manner in which in many cases the newly appointed and inexperienced officials performed their duties add to the chances of the Constitution working either smoothly or permanently.

A.D. 1798.

The Smaller States.

Throughout the country much dissatisfaction showed itself, more especially in the ancient states of the defunct Confederation, that had their prestige and their traditions violated by the new Constitution. Uri, Schywx and Unterwalden, in spite of threats from the French, and entreaties from the Swiss authorities, absolutely refused to acknowledge or to take part in the Helvetic Republic. This bold attitude was quickly followed by a similar determination by Glarus, Zug, Uznack, Toggenburg, and other small districts, while a similar sentiment was shown markedly by the peasants of the Graubünden and of Appenzell.

To the people of the Waldstättten it seemed an act of the worst tyranny to interfere with their ancient forms of government. Among them for centuries, democracy of the most thorough kind had flourished and become intimately associated with their daily life. By comparison with this democracy, the complicated

system of bureaucracy of the French Republic appeared as galling as the rule of the Swiss aristocracies. The French had already destroyed the latter, and were now as determined to abolish the former. As Sir James Mackintosh said in his defence of Peltier, in referring to the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy, "the French Revolution has spared many monarchies, but it has spared no Republic within the sphere of its destructive energy."

At this time Schauenburg was Commander-in-chief of the French army of occupation. His rule was characterised by "thoroughness" in its widest sense. His first measure against the "obstinate rebels," as he called the Swiss peasants who refused to acknowledge the new government, was to issue a proclamation *April* 13. forbidding all intercourse with the revolted districts, and he so surrounded them that they were unable to receive supplies from the neighbouring states. As cattle, milk and cheese were the only produce of the Waldstätten valleys, many articles of daily necessity would have become entirely unattainable had this measure of coercion been quietly submitted to. But far from this being the case, 10,000 peasants quickly armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find at hand, and assuming their old national colours of a white cross on a red ground (instead of the yellow, green and red of the Helvetic Republic), prepared to maintain their freedom at all costs. Dividing their forces into *Revolt of the Waldstätten.* three divisions, one portion, under Alois Reding of Schwyx, marched rapidly against Luzern, defeated the enemy, and occupied the city. Here their first act was to cut down the local "Tree of Liberty." Arms were procured by the pillage of the arsenal, and food and

money by the partial sacking of the public and private buildings. In these latter acts they were led by a fanatical Capuchine friar, Paul Styger, who, mounted on horse-back, armed with pistols in his belt, a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, encouraged his followers to steal whatever they wanted. In his harangues, Styger preached that fighting the French was a holy duty, that all property belonged to the people by right of conquest, and that the crucifix was
A.D. 1798. the only true "Tree of Liberty." While these events were in progress, the second division of the Waldstätten broke through the hostile cordon and occupied the Hasli districts, whilst the third took Rapperschwyl, intending
April 29. to march on Aargau and Zürich and raise these territories against the Government. But, though by their daring and the quickness of their movements the peasant-soldiers at first carried everything before them, the division of their forces enabled the French to attack, with overwhelming numbers, each little army separately, and eventually to defeat them all completely. Schauenburg, with over 20,000 men, now actively took the offensive. After several encounters with contingents from Glarus and Sargans, in which the gallantry of the Swiss enabled them to repulse their foes on several occasions with great loss, the French regained possession of Rapperschwyl and compelled the Swiss to retreat.
April 30. Speaking of this part of the campaign, the French commander bore striking evidence to the bravery of his peasant opponents. "*Tous les Suisses battus comme des lions. C'était la lutte la plus acharnée à laquelle j'aie assisté et la Vendée elle-même n'a pas produit des scènes de désespoir héroïque pareilles à celle dont j'ai été temoin.*" Two days after the defeat of the men of Glarus, the French

attacked Reding's Schwyxois at the Pass of Schindel- *May* 2.
legi, but were repulsed with loss. They then turned that position by the Pass of Mount Etzel which was abandoned by the curate of Einsiedeln, who had volunteered to defend it. Reding now fell back on Rothenthurn with 1,500 men. The French were drawn up on the plain below. On receiving the order to charge, the Swiss, undaunted by a murderous fire, rushed at their opponents, and, after half-an-hour's hand-to-hand fighting, compelled them to retreat with great loss. On the same day another body of French was repulsed at Morgarten on its way from Egeri. On May 3rd, Schauenburg advanced his main force in two *May* 3.
columns against Arth, but was repulsed with a loss of nearly 4,000 men, the *Black Legion*, which had earned a terrible notoriety from its excesses in Switzerland, being almost annihilated. This defeat showed so forcibly the Commander-in-chief the difficulties that lay before him, that he concluded a convention with Reding, and withdrew his troops. By this arrangement no foreign soldiers were to enter the Schwyx territories, and no contributions were to be levied on the Schwyx people, who were permitted to retain their arms, and who in return were to send deputies to the Helvetic Republic.[1] Meanwhile Zug (April 29th) and Luzern (April 30th) were recovered by the French, and Wollerau and Pfæffikon having also been taken and given over to

1 During the interview between the two chiefs on the terms of the capitulation of Schwyx, Schauenburg is reported to have said to Reding, "It is very fortunate for you that you did not fall into my hands, as I would certainly have shot you." "Had I taken you prisoner I should have treated you in a similar way," was the reply of the peasant general.

pillage, and the Glarus contingents being on several occasions defeated, the latter also concluded peace by acknowledging the Helvetic Republic.

With the submission of Schwyx and Glarus the other small territories that had risen in arms gave up the unequal struggle. Just, however, as there seemed a hope that the Swiss would at last settle down to improve themselves and their country, a rising took place among the mountaineers of the Upper Valais districts.

Rising in Valais, May 7.

Alone, and without even the moral support of their countrymen, 4,000 peasants, armed with every form of rude weapon, rose against the French. Marching upon Sion, with little difficulty they captured the city. Here they were attacked by the French, who were then stationed in force at Martigny, aided by some volunteers from Vaud, and from the Lower Valais. After withstanding a general assault for six hours, the peasants gave way, and a fearful vengeance was at once taken by the French. Nearly 800 persons were massacred, seventy among the local leaders were imprisoned, the town given over to pillage, women and girls were dishonoured wholesale, every form of brutality was openly perpetrated, and the districts condemned to pay a tax of more than a million livres. This instance of following Napoleon's method of "striking terror," was carried out under the orders of General Lorges, and the French civil representative, Mangourit.

May 20.

In spite of the collapse of the insurrectionary movements in the smaller districts, the stability of the Helvetic Republic was far from assured. All over Switzerland dislike of the new Government, and hatred of the French became every day more marked, and

another great change was only a question of time. The French representative, Rapinat, to a great extent exercised supreme authority in all important matters, and became more and more arbitrary and unscrupulous in his acts of official extortion and high-handed injustice. Amongst the numerous instances of the latter, he answered an appeal from the Swiss Directory begging him respectfully to moderate his levies of money, by summarily dismissing two of its members and installing in their stead Ochs and La Harpe, who, by their advice and assistance, had been among the chief agents in bringing about the French influence and establishing the new Constitution.

Civil Reforms.

Despite the opposition it everywhere encountered, the Swiss Government did much to promote the national unity, and to improve the general condition of the people. By law the punishment of torture was abolished; the special tax upon Jews was repealed; the posts came under Government management; the law courts were thrown open to the public; a better system of education was established; rates and taxes for local needs were placed under more equitable conditions, and other measures were either carried out or promoted for the public welfare. Nothing that the Government could do, however, could make it more popular, or lessen the feeling against it and its French supporters. It was moreover guilty of many acts of stupidity, if not injustice; it allowed what the simple Swiss peasants thought extravagant salaries to its officials, during a period of general poverty; it participated in the hatred roused against the French for their levies in support of their large army of occupation, and it enrolled a force of Swiss to act as auxiliaries to the

invaders. Neither did the theatrical costumes and manners assumed by the officials, in imitation of those of France, tend to create respect or affection in the minds of their fellow-countrymen.

Waldstätten, July, 1798.

Fresh troubles broke out in the ever vigorous Waldstätten districts not many months after they were apparently quieted. On July 11th the Government foolishly issued a decree calling upon all the Swiss to take an oath of allegiance to the Republic. Religion was then a powerful factor in all individual concerns of the peasants, and the sanctity of an oath was deemed inviolate. In many places the oath was taken, and in many it was evaded; but in Schwyx and in Unterwalden, especially in Nidwald, the attempt to administer it aroused a determined refusal. In vain the Swiss Government pleaded and the French general sent threatening messages. Every day the excitement and indignation became more furious, and within a month the people once more rose in armed revolt. The authorities were expelled, and preparations were made for active resistance. At this crisis the local priests and leaders, including Aloïs Reding, exerted themselves so strenuously in Schwyx for the cause of peace that, in spite of all they had said and done, the Schwyxois once more submitted to the Government. Not so the people of Nidwald. Here the brave peasants determined, in spite of the fearful odds against them, to win their lost liberty, or to perish in the effort. The result showed one of the most terrible and cruel of the many brutal acts of unscrupulous butchery that so often mark the bloody page of the history of the French Republic's wars in the cause of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. In Nidwald the local clergy, unlike those of Schwyx,

Fresh Risings.

Nidwald.

did all they could to encourage the people to fight to the death. The redoubtable Styger, who already figured at the pillage of Luzern, traversed the mountains exhorting his hearers to resist the French as they would the Devil, and using the words of Christ and the example of William Tell with equal authority and force. One last chance was offered by Schauenburg, who threatened that unless instant submission was made by the rebels he would exterminate the whole people. On August 29th a general *Landsgemeinde* was held of the two divisions of Unterwalden, when the people of Obwald decided to submit and those of Nidwald to fight to the death. Several of the Obwalders pushed their change of front so far as to offer their services as guides to the now approaching French army. *August* 29.

On September 9th, General Schauenburg put his threat into execution. Dividing his force of 16,000 men, besides Swiss auxiliaries, into three divisions, he attacked the heroic little district, whose defenders numbered only 2,000 badly-armed peasants, aided by some 240 volunteers from Schwyx and Uri. The official account of the French Commander thus describes the encounter. He had sent a column through Obwald to attack the "rebels" in the rear, whilst he himself landed near Stanzstadt from Luzern. "You will learn with pleasure, citizen Directors, that victory continues faithful to the Republicans. After a combat that lasted from five in the morning to six in the evening we took possession of Stanzstadt. All that afflicts me is that this day could not be ended without all the consequences that must attend so terrible a conflict, for it has cost abundance of bloodshed. But *September*.

they were rebels, whom it was necessary to subdue." On the next day Schauenburg again wrote:—"As soon as all was arranged for acting in concert, I directed on September 9th, at daybreak, Generals Mainoni and Müller to fall upon the valley of Stanz and attack the entrenchments. No sooner had these been carried by the bayonet, than I ordered the infantry to embark on the lake, and to invest Stanz in the rear, which place was cannonaded accordingly on all sides with the greatest vigour. At six in the evening we were masters of this unhappy country, the greater part of which was pillaged. The fury of the soldiers could not be restrained, for many of them had been taken by surprise and killed. We have suffered greatly, considering the incredible obstinacy of these men, whose audacity bordered upon madness. Several priests and, unfortunately, also many women, were cut to pieces. In a word, all that bore arms were put to the sword. We had about 350 wounded. This was the hottest conflict I ever experienced. Our enemies fought with clubs and fragments of rock; in short, all imaginable means were used for attack. A great number of the inhabitants of different cantons were witnesses of this fierce action; their countenances fell as we advanced. The whole district of Unterwalden is now subdued. The papers we have in hand prove that if we had not crushed these infatuated men the insurrection would in a short time have become general." Nearly all accounts of the horrors of this fearful conflict necessarily come from French sources, and are therefore not likely to be exaggerated. The Swiss themselves, being nearly all slaughtered, were not in a position to give *their* version of what took place. Planta, who wrote shortly after

the massacre, gives the following additional details he gathered from contemporary writings in the *Leyden Gazette*, published under the sanction of the French Government :—

"From the day that Unterwalden shook off Austrian tyranny to the present, her people have always enjoyed perfect liberty and equality as the fundamental principles of their popular government and ancient constitution, in defence of which the present generation has once more abundantly bled. It is then only in compliance with recent usage, which ascribes the name of Republicans exclusively to the French armies, that General Schauenburg says, 'that victory has continued faithful to the Republicans.' . . . The number of those that fell is estimated at about 1,500. The town of Stanz has been burnt, and the inhabitants who have not perished in battle, or in the devastation, are reduced to the most deplorable misery. In Stanz only sixteen houses are left standing. It was a large, handsome, pleasant, well-built burgh, full of public and private edifices well worthy of notice, all of which are now converted into blazing ruins, steeped in the gore of their owners. The few who survived the carnage fled into the higher Alps. Men of all ages, women, and even children fought without order, without able or experienced leaders, against a host of well-disciplined troops, supported by a numerous artillery. The action lasted thirteen hours without intermission, and with a rage of which there is scarcely any example." The victors seemed to have been seized with a perfect frenzy for butchery. Old and young, the sick and decrepid, women and girls, all alike were bayonetted, burnt, or otherwise slaughtered. One hundred and thirty women are known to have fallen.

A chapel was afterwards built in the churchyard of Stanz to the memory of four hundred and fourteen inhabitants of the town, including one hundred and two women and seventy-five children, who were murdered on the 9th of September. On that day Mass was being celebrated in the church when the French rushed in and shot the aged priest before the altar. Outside the chapel of St. Jacob eighteen women stationed themselves against the wall and valiantly faced the French, armed only with scythes and clubs, till they were all killed. Hundreds of children, destitute of care or food by the death of their parents, wandered piteously about the fields, and but for the sympathy of the philanthropic Pestalozzi and the peasants of the neighbouring cantons, would have all perished from starvation and exposure. Even Schauenburg himself is reported to have been horrified with the extent and nature of the calamity his soldiers had caused, but as he was chiefly instrumental in bringing it about, the genuineness of his grief admits of doubt. Following up their "victory" the French, on the 15th of September, entered Canton Schwyx, in total violation of the recently made agreement, and disarmed the people.

Sept. 15.

The conduct of the Swiss Directory, during and after the disaster in Unterwalden, would seem brutally callous in the extreme were it not remembered the Swiss Government was but the tool of the French Republic, and possessed no personal independence. Without lifting a hand to stay the massacre, or to help the unfortunate few survivors, the Swiss Directory issued orders for the planting of a "Tree of Liberty" in the midst of the ashes and ruins of Nidwald, and passed a resolution that Schauenburg, by his action, had deserved

well of the Republic! Later, a spark of humanity somewhat effaced the servile cowardice of the Government, and an orphan asylum was built in the ruined Stanz, over which Pestalozzi was appointed director.

French Outrages.

Meanwhile, the dislike felt by the majority of the Swiss towards the new form of government gradually changed to hatred, as, under the sinister influence of Rapinat, the authorities became daily more arbitrary, and the exactions of the French more outrageous. But what most excited the wrath of the people was the savage manner in which the French soldiers not only obeyed the orders of their superiors, but, on their own account, committed every form of licence. Pillage, murder, thefts, and assaults on women were of frequent occurrence, and passed with little or no punishment. The Forest of Bremgarten, near Bern, was filled with the corpses of violated women—(Daguet).

Seat of Government.

The seat of government at the beginning of the new *régime* was provisionally fixed at Aarau, on account of the strong adherence of that town to the proposed changes. In October, however, it was moved to Luzern, as the capital of the Helvetic Republic. In May of the following year (1799) another change was made by the transference of government to Bern.

The Graubünden.

Through the recent changes, in spite of every threat, the peasants of the Graubünden steadily refused to join or recognise the Helvetic Republic. The presence of the Austrians in the Tyrol probably gave them additional courage, as the French were just then anxious not to provoke a fresh contest with the Emperor. After the massacre in Unterwalden whatever doubts existed as to the methods of civilisation pursued by the French were at once dispelled. A

general arming to protect their frontiers, quickly followed, the French representative left Chur, with many threats, and on the 17th of October the Graubünden Diet formally requested the Emperor to furnish a force to occupy and protect the country. The request was willingly acceded to, and an Austrian army wintered in the country.

A.D. 1799.

Switzerland an European Battlefield, A.D. 1799.

In March, 1799, war once more broke out between France and Austria, and soon resulted in plunging Switzerland in all the horrors of a sanguinary contest. The cantons became one of the chief theatres of the war, and witnessed some of the hardest-fought battles. Of the principal actors in the bloody drama, the Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor, Francis II., commanded the Austrians; Massena, with Soult, Ney and Oudinot, led the French; while the Russians, who invaded the country as allies of Austria, were under the command of the famous Generals Souworow and Korsakow. Acting with his usual rapidity of movement and judgment, Massena opened the campaign by surprising 4,000 Austrians at the Pass of Luciensteig (March 6th), inflicting on them a severe defeat, and taking possession of the greater part of the country. Under great pressure of the French, the Helvetic Directory had ordered a levy of 20,000 Swiss to assist the Republicans. Many volunteers, however, served in the Imperialist ranks, and distinguished themselves greatly by their valour and the knowledge they possessed of the nature of the country. Though favoured by fortune in the commencement of the war, the French, in their turn, suffered defeat, by the Archduke, at Stockach and Feldkirch (March 25th), and were compelled to retreat. Severe engagements next followed at Diessenhofen,

March.

Winterthur, and Frauenfeld in the same month, where, though the French managed, with great loss, to hold their position, the Austrians spread over a large part of Eastern Switzerland. On March 30th the Archduke issued a proclamation, telling the people he came as their liberator from the thraldom of the French, and not as a conqueror of the country. The effect of this was at once marked. Everywhere the peasants were against their foreign masters; French and French sympathisers were assassinated; a regular vendetta set in. The small districts now seized the opportunity afforded by the presence of their ancient enemies to assert their independence. Successive revolts took place in St. Gallen, Glarus (March 6th), the Oberland, Seeland, Freyburg, Solothurn, Uri (April 26th), Zug, Luzern, Schwyx (April 28th), Lugano, Unterwalden, and in Valais (May 14th). Shortly after the rising in Schwyx the French again entered the districts, re-asserted their supremacy, and disarmed the inhabitants. All over Eastern Switzerland encounters took place, and soon these centres were covered with ruins and partially depopulated. In some districts, as in Thurgau and portions of Zürich, the people fought for the French, owing to the improved standing these localities had obtained by the Revolution. The French being driven from Zürich, it was then occupied by the Austrians and Russians, and became the allies' *June.*
headquarters (June). Evacuating Schwyx early in June, the Republicans took up a position near Arth, on the frontiers of Zug, and were here succeeded by the Austrians, who were at once joined by large numbers of the peasants. On July 3rd a general *July.*
attack of the French on the Austrian lines was

repulsed at Morgarten, and the former fell back upon Egeri. By the drawing off of his army into Swabia, the Archduke left his allies greatly weakened, and in September the Russians sustained a series of defeats near Zürich, and, being compelled to retreat, the city was again occupied by Massena. During the entry of the French, after the last battle, the celebrated Lavater was killed by a stray shot as he was leaving his house to succour the wounded. Whilst the Russian general, Korsakow, was being repulsed at Zürich, his compatriot, Suwarrow, was crossing the St. Gothard to his assistance with a large force. Though too late, he fought the French at Altdorf, and drove them back into Schwyx. Learning, after this victory, of the reverses that had befallen Korsakow, the great Russian commander commenced his retreat. Passing by a most difficult route over the Brägel and through the Klöuthal, he entered Glarus, but was forced, by the presence there of a large French army, to fall back again. Traversing the Kranchenthal during the night, guided by torches past the perils of the passage, he at length led his men into the Sargans districts, on the Graubünden frontiers, and shortly afterwards evacuated Switzerland. These forced marches of foreigners over the rugged Swiss mountains by paths only known to chamois hunters, the battles fought in the Swiss valleys, lakes, and passes, and on the terrible Alpine heights, surrounded by snow and ice, with hundreds of soldiers dying of exposure and want of food, or perishing by falling over the sides of the narrow tracks, are full of dramatic as well as of strategic interest. The luckless inhabitants of the districts traversed were ruined by having to support any and all of the invaders, who followed so

quickly one after the other. "At the end of the campaign, one-fourth of the surviving population of Schwyx was depending on public charity. In the Valley of Muotta alone between 600 and 700 persons were reduced to a state of utter destitution. In the still poorer Canton of Uri the same distress prevailed, in addition to which a fire broke out at Altdorf, which destroyed the greater part of that, the chief town of the district. The Canton of Unterwalden had been devastated the year before. In the valleys of the Graubünden similar scenes took place; in that of the Vorder Rhein the inhabitants rose against the French on the 1st of May, killed a great number of them, and drove the rest as far as Chur. But the French soon received reinforcements, and overpowered the mountaineers, upon whom they broke their vengeance, killing above 3,000 of them, and setting on fire the venerable Abbey of Dissentis. The inhabitants of the remote Valley of Tavetsch, at the foot of the great Alps, were all butchered; the women were hunted down by the soldiers; four of them, being overtaken, threw themselves into the half-frozen Lake of Toma, with their infants in their arms, and were shot at in that situation."

By October the whole of the allied armies were driven beyond the Swiss frontiers, and once more the French became sole masters of the country. By a decree of the Helvetic Directory, Massena was declared the "Savour of Switzerland." His first response to this eulogy was to levy contributions of over two millions of francs upon the impoverished Swiss.

Till 1803, political and social troubles, local revolts, and much general misery, make up the history of the

unhappy Swiss. Factions of every kind sprang to life in nearly every centre; changes in the Government followed one another rapidly; all was confusion, mistrust, and wretchedness. During this miserable period the French were themselves so engrossed with their own affairs that they bestowed little attention on the Helvetic Republic. Of the many insurrections that occurred, the most formidable broke out in 1802, which rapidly infected a large portion of the country. In July a sudden call from France led to the withdrawal of the French troops, and the consequent deprivation of the Helvetic Government of its chief support. The news instantly roused all Switzerland; Valais declared itself independent; Uri, Schwyx and Unterwalden, armed against the authorities; Zürich, Schaffhausen, Basel, Argau, and other important centres followed suit. To avoid the coming storm, the Government, escorted by what troops it could induce to remain faithful, fled to Lausanne. Marching upon the latter city the insurgents met and defeated the Government's guard, and were about to sweep everything before them, when a peremptory message arrived from Bonaparte, commanding the insurgents to lay down their arms. On their refusing to do so, the First Consul promptly despatched Ney, with a large French force, to compel obedience. On Ney's arrival, the Government was reinstated at Bern, and the revolutionary upheaval gradually subsided. At this instant, Napoleon, assuming a *rôle* to which he was little used, came forward in the interests of peace as a mediator to bring about a *modus vivendi*, and quiet the turbulent spirit that threatened at any moment to depopulate the country by civil strife.

Risings in the Cantons, A.D. 1802.

October.

In a proclamation to the Swiss people, Napoleon

reviewed their condition, and offered his services to create a satisfactory solution of their troubles, in the following terms:—

Napoleon's Act of Mediation, A.D. 1803.

"Inhabitants of Switzerland: For two years you have presented a melancholy spectacle. Supreme power has been seized alternately by opposite factions, whose transitory and partial rule has served only to illustrate their own incapacity. If you are left to yourselves any longer, you will cut one another to pieces for years, without any prospect of coming to a rational understanding. Your intestine discord never could be ended without the interposition of France. I had resolved not to mix in your affairs; but I cannot, and will not, view with indifference the calamities to which I now see you exposed. I retract my former resolution. I offer myself as your mediator, and will exert my mediation with that energy which becomes the powerful nation in whose name I speak. Five days after receiving this present declaration, the Senate will assemble at Bern, to nominate three deputies to visit Paris, and each canton will also be permitted to send representatives thither. All citizens who have held public employments during the past three years may also appear at Paris to deliberate by what means the restoration of concord and reconciliation of all parties may best be effected. Every rational man must perceive that my purposed mediation is a blessing conferred on Switzerland by that Providence, which, amid so many concurring causes of social dissolution, has always preserved your national life and independence. It would be painful to think that destiny has singled out this epoch, which has called into life so many new republics, as the hour of destruction of one of the oldest commonwealths in Europe."

This generous act, for in the absence of obvious ulterior motives, Napoleon must be credited with acting solely in the interests of peace and humanity, received an immediate response by the centres indicated promptly electing their representatives and sending them to Paris. There, under Napoleon's guidance, a new Swiss Constitution was framed (the fourth that had been tried in less than six years), and once more the country entered upon a new term of life, under fresh political conditions.

CHAPTER XX

SWITZERLAND UNDER THE ACT OF MEDIATION

In response to Napoleon's proclamation, the Swiss representatives met at Paris to deliberate on the terms of the New Constitution. The interest taken by the First Consul in his novel task was apparently sincere, and his labours certainly unremitting. While giving an attentive ear to every opinion (and the views held by the Swiss Deputies were as divergent as they were many), he expressed his own ideas in clear and significant language at the numerous interviews that took place before the Congress finally concluded its work. Napoleon's plan, which formed the basis of the New Constitution, is well summarised by Thibaudeau, in his "*Mémoires sur le Consulat.*" "The topography," said Napoleon, "the varieties in language, religion, manners and customs, make Switzerland unlike any other country. Nature has intended her for a federal state, and it is unwise to oppose nature. Several of the cantons have preserved for centuries a system of the purest democracy, while in others the commonwealth has become divided between sovereigns and subjects, from the exclusive exercise of power by certain families. The growth of new circumstances and the greater justice and reason of the spirit of the age, have made a complete renunciation of all exclusive privileges the wish and the interest of the

A.D. 1803-15.

people at large. The most important matter to be first settled, is the internal organisation of each separate canton, after which their respective relations with one another must be determined. There can be no uniformity of administration. Placed among the mountains which separate France, Germany and Italy, Switzerland partakes of the character of each of these countries. Her neutrality and her commerce, with a domestic and family-like government, are the things most suitable to her people. Neither France nor the Italian Republic can allow a system to prevail which would be in opposition to theirs. The politics of Switzerland are necessarily allied to those of France. The re-establishment of pure democracy in the smaller cantons is best for them. These little democracies have been the cradle of liberty; it is they that distinguish Switzerland from the rest of the world, and render her so interesting in the eyes of Europe. Without them she would be like the rest of the Continent, and bear no characteristic feature; mark well the importance of this. These mountain democracies constitute real Switzerland, to which the other cantons have been added at a later period. The institutions of the cantons may be unreasonable, but they are established by ancient and still popular custom. When custom and reason are in opposition, the former usually carries the day. Those who wish to abolish the local *Landsgemeinden* must talk no longer of democracies or republics. A free people does not like to be deprived of its direct exercise of sovereign power, it does not know or relish those modern inventions of a representative system. Moreover, why should their shepherds be deprived of the only excitement their otherwise mono-

tonous lives affords. With regard to the town cantons, or former aristocracies, every exclusive privilege being now abolished, the members of the legislature should be appointed for life, subject to approval of their conduct every two years. The qualifications of an elector should consist in his being a citizen of the canton, and his being possessed of at least 500 francs' worth of property. In the new cantons, formerly subject to others, the social principle being more plutocratic, the members of the legislature should not be chosen for life. With regard to other details, these ought to be left to the legislature; the Constitution is to determine only the mode in which the laws are made. If it enters into too many details, sooner or later it becomes liable to be violated. Respecting trial by jury, this institution might prove dangerous in times of political excitement, for then juries are apt to judge through passion. We, at least in France, find it so." In further meetings Napoleon went on to say he was in favour of making Vaud into a separate canton, and that the interests of France required Switzerland, which protected a line of her frontiers, to be her ally; and concluded by declaring, "never did I intend to make a revolution in your country. I never thought of annexing you to France, for you could not bear the charge which the French have to sustain. This mediation in your affairs has given me much trouble, and I hesitated long before I embarked in it. It is a difficult task for me to give constitutions to countries with which I am imperfectly acquainted. Should my appearance on your stage prove unsuccessful, I should be hissed—a thing I do not like. All Europe expects France to settle the affairs of Switzerland, for it is

acknowledged by Europe that Switzerland, as well as Italy and Holland, are at the disposal of France." It is worthy of note that in these negotiations "Switzerland" is, for the first time, the official name used for the Confederation. Such was the basis upon which the Act of Mediation was framed. After many difficulties caused by the opposing opinions of the Swiss deputies (who, besides minor parties, were divided chiefly into those advocating a federal, and those supporting a single republican form of government), finally all opposition was surmounted, and on
A.D. 1805. February 19th Napoleon publicly gave the new Constitution to the Swiss.

Under the terms of the Act of Mediation the ancient title of Confederation displaced that of the Helvetic Republic. The country was divided into nineteen cantons, each possessing its separate form of government for its special and domestic affairs. The Diet, as of old, formed the supreme court and authority in national matters, or in those arising out of differences between the cantons. Every canton having a hundred thousand inhabitants returned two representatives to the Diet, whilst those with fewer sent only one. The States of Zürich, Bern, Freyburg, Luzern, Basel and Solothurn were regarded as *Cantons Directeurs*, and one of them was by turn taken as the place of meeting for the Diet, and its chief official became for the year the head of the Republic, under the title of *Landammann of Switzerland*. The latter functionary possessed great power, being the chief executive officer in many important home matters, as well as the channel for communicating with foreign states. In the intervals of the sittings of the Diet, the supreme authority

rested with the chief officials of the *Canton Directeur* of the year, presided over by the Landammann of Switzerland. The first to fill this latter post was Louis D'Affry, son of the French Ambassador to Holland, one of the Swiss deputies to Paris. He was nominated in the first instance by Napoleon, and afterwards confirmed in his position by the general vote of the cantons. And it would have been difficult to have chosen one in every way more fitted to fill the difficult and responsible office. D'Affry's mental characteristics and physical gifts marked him as a born leader of men. During two terms of office, in a period of exceptional unrest and general change, he guided the Swiss through many difficulties, and brought them nearer together, and though possessing Napoleon's protection he never substituted the interests of France for those of his adopted country. His foreign origin prevented him from ever attaining any great amount of personal popularity, but his official conduct, his great abilities, and, still more, his scrupulous honesty and impartiality, earned him the respect and confidence of all.

Louis D'Affry.

In the new arrangement, Geneva, and the territories taken by the Directory from the Bishopric of Basel, remained in the possession of France. Valais was separated and afterwards also incorporated into the French dominions. The future neutrality of the Confederation was formally recognised, and to the end of his career Napoleon faithfully respected the undertaking he had entered into.

One of the first acts of the Confederation under the new system was the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance with France for fifty years, the

Treaty with France, Sept. 27.

chief feature of which was a renewal of former treaties granting 16,000 Swiss auxiliaries to the French army. No recruits to other Powers were to be permitted. The Swiss were allowed to send annually twenty youths to the celebrated École Polytechnique at Paris, in return for which privilege it was stipulated that Switzerland should purchase annually 200,000 quintals of salt from France. This curious arrangement gave rise to the popular saying, "C'est un traité *salé* que celui que nous avons conclu avec la France."

During the period extending over the next twelve years, the Confederation enjoyed a greater amount of repose and prosperity than had been the case for a long time. The firmness of those in authority, the better feeling between the different cantons, and the growing sentiment of nationality, produced a marked change. The only domestic trouble of any importance (resulting from the natural turbulence of the race) broke out among the Zürich peasants. Believing themselves oppressed by the Government's refusal to abolish certain tithes, a number of the people living about the shores of the Lake of Zürich refused to take the oath of allegiance, and rose in arms. The revolt spread rapidly to the neighbouring districts, and was only suppressed after a good deal of pillage and bloodshed. That this rising (known as the *Bockenkreig*) did not become more serious, is due to the prompt manner in which the several cantons responded to the demands of the Landammann of Switzerland for the year, for troops to act in concert. For the first time for many years it was found possible to obtain and use a Confederate force for the common good.

Revolt in Zürich, A.D. 1084.

Petition for Annexation to France.

In April of the same year, an incident occurred that might have resulted in very serious consequences for the Confederation. This was the presentation of a petition to Napoleon by a number of Swiss *émigrés* resident in Paris, begging him to annex Switzerland to France. Though energetically supported by Prince Murat and several other eminent men of the time, Napoleon refused to countenance the idea.

Proposed Military Establishment.

By the terms of the Act of Mediation the national militia was fixed at 15,000; this army remained chiefly on paper. Soon after its formation, the new Government felt the need of a thoroughly well organised standing force to maintain order within the cantons, and to guard the frontiers from any sudden violation. The rising in the Zürich districts further accentuated this want. Accordingly, a scheme was devised to establish a regular school for military training, to raise a fund for military purposes, and to organise an effective national militia. Though the urgent necessity of these plans was apparent, the opposition of a large section of the people, and the decided refusal of Napoleon to sanction them, frustrated the intentions of the Government, and matters remained unchanged. Important events even arose to demonstrate the wisdom of the contemplated military measures. Swiss neutrality, it is true, was guaranteed by the First Consul of France, but many recent experiences had not impressed the inhabitants of other countries with the faith of French promises. The turmoil in which all Europe was again plunged by the ambitious designs of Napoleon, made it appear highly probable that that restless genius might consider expediency as more important than the necessity of maintaining his plighted word.

A.D. 1805. On December 2nd, 1805, Napoleon ceased to be First Consul, and became Emperor of the French. The coalition of Austria, Russia and Great Britain against his arbitrary extensions of power that followed that event, once more lighted up the flame of war. Finding themselves surrounded by formidable armies, the Swiss used every effort to obtain assurance from the belligerents that their frontiers would not be crossed. From the Austrians a ready promise was given to respect the Confederates' territories, providing a similar undertaking was given by the French. Napoleon, however, in spite of many requests, refused to give the required guarantee. In this emergency, the patriotism of the people so far revived that the Government was able to raise a considerable force, which was ordered to guard the frontier passes. After the defeat of the allies at Austerlitz, another cause of apprehension arose among the Swiss from the cession by the King of Prussia of Neuchâtel, and its bestowal by Napoleon on Alexandre Berthier, one of his numerous generals (March 30th, 1806). On this transference being effected, a number of Swiss merchants, more avaricious than patriotic, forwarded a large quantity of English goods into the Principality with a view to passing them into France, in contravention of the French Emperor's stringent prohibition against English manufactures getting into Europe. This action called down the wrath of Napoleon on Switzerland, and he was only appeased by the Confederate Diet passing a decree forbidding goods from England entering any of the cantons, much to the detriment of the latter. All efforts on the part of the Swiss again to obtain Neuchâtel as a part of their country proved fruitless,

Neuchâtel, A.D. 1806.

as indeed was to be expected. The year 1806 is further memorable in Swiss chronicles from the terrible disaster that took place at Goldau, where on September 2nd, in consequence of an earthquake, four villages were destroyed, and where in a few minutes 457 persons perished.

Among the many rapidly-created principles upon which Napoleon based some of his most unprincipled deeds, was his dictum that all countries where the inhabitants spoke French belonged, of necessity, to France. He had already demonstrated this in the case of Neuchâtel, and now further emphasised it by annexing the whole of Valais. To the Swiss it appeared as if a third example would be given by the incorporation of Vaud.

Every year the fearful losses sustained by the French armies made the enrolling of the Swiss contingent agreed upon a matter of greater difficulty. After trying many methods of exciting the flagging enthusiasm of the Swiss to die on foreign battle-fields, resource to conscription was only avoided by filling the ranks of the stipulated levies with the occupants of the Swiss jails and the worst and most objectionable characters, whose absence would prove a national blessing, if not a credit, to their country.

General Improvement.

Under the Government of the Act of Mediation, the authorities for the first time treated the people as equals and as rational beings. Though still in many respects far removed from a universally cultured and advanced race, the majority of the Swiss had in the past few years made great strides in civilisation. A good method of public instruction was introduced into most of the cantons, and from this period

may be dated the birth of that high educational standard which to-day marks the people of Switzerland. In many districts, as in the valleys of St. Gallen, Appenzell and Glarus, manufacturing industries sprang to life and soon rose to great importance. Literary and scientific societies made their appearance in many centres where before little learning existed, and the formation of agricultural associations greatly helped to improve the natural resources of the peasant classes by introducing better methods in the cultivation of the soil and the breeding of cattle. A very important engineering work accomplished at this time showed the improved condition of the people as well as their patriotic generosity. This was the making of the great canal of the Linth, between Lakes Wallenstadt and Zürich, at a cost of 1,500,000 francs, raised by public subscriptions, whereby a large tract of marsh land was reclaimed.

Very little of importance breaks the calm of Swiss history, till the time when fortune, wearying of her prodigal bestowal of favours on Napoleon, began at length to neglect him. Her methods were swift and emphatic.

In the disastrous Russian campaign, during the winter of 1812, Napoleon's losses amounted to 125,000 slain; 132,000 died of hunger, disease and exhaustion, while 193,000 were taken prisoners, including 3,000 officers and 48 generals—(Boutourlin). In the army that suffered this awful calamity were some 14,000 Swiss Auxiliaries, whose heroic conduct under their fearful trials won the admiration of both French and Russians. The tide of war was now rapidly approaching the Swiss frontiers. Napoleon's second reverse at

Leipsic, in 1813, brought the Allies in sight of the Rhine. This defeat was of importance to Switzerland, as it was followed by the cession of Ticino by Italy and its reunion with the Confederation. The satisfaction caused by this event was, however, considerably lessened by the news that the Allies intended to cross a portion of Swiss territory in order to enter Eastern France. Though contrary to the guarantees already given, the expediency of attacking France on her most vulnerable frontier was evident. The Allies on their part, while admitting the Swiss were not called upon to take arms against Napoleon, who had treated them with exceptional consideration, urged that the nature of the war—a war to free Europe from the intolerable thraldom of one ambitious man—justified them in their violation of neutral territory. They were, moreover, urged to cross the Swiss frontier by a considerable number of the Swiss themselves, who were anxious to see their country freed from French influence and restored to her former independence. A.D. 1813.

On December 21st the Austrians entered Basel, and marched into Alsace, whilst others of the Allies passed through Bern, Solothurn and Vaud to Geneva and Lyons. All through their march the strictest discipline was maintained, and every regard paid to the persons and property of the Swiss, who had little to complain of from the presence of their visitors. One happy result of the victorious march of the Allies was the deliverance of Geneva, Neuchâtel and Valais from their French masters, and their admission into the Confederation (1814). *March of the Allies, Dec. 21, 1813.*

And now the days of the Government under the system imposed by the Act of Mediation were rapidly

drawing to a close. It had done its work, and done it well, but it was already out of keeping with the political ideas of many of the Swiss themselves, and was regarded with disfavour by the sovereigns of Europe. Already in Bern, Solothurn, and other important centres, a practical return to the former system of patrician rule had occurred. Shortly before the entry of the Allies, two envoys from Austria and France arrived at Zürich, where the General Diet was then sitting. They were the bearers of a note to the Swiss representatives, stating that "the Act of Mediation, being the work of a foreign influence inimical to the rest of Europe, was incompatible with the principles of the great European Alliance, and the Powers, whilst disclaiming any wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Switzerland, could not allow that country to remain any longer under the tutelage of the French."

Answering the significant hint contained in this message, the majority of the Diet wisely determined to effect the changes demanded, rather than give an opportunity for fresh foreign intervention. A meeting of deputies representing the cantons was accordingly called at Zürich, and on December 29th the Act of Mediation was formally dissolved, the complete independence of all the Swiss States acknowledged, and the urgent need of arranging the terms of a fresh Constitution publicly impressed on the country.

A.D. 1813.

Reforms in the Constitution.

In the meetings that followed, Bern, Freyburg and Solothurn alone refused the suggested reforms. In these towns the re-establishment of the former aristocratic rule led to their wish to revert to the former system of the Thirteen Cantons, and their subject territories.

Bern openly issued a proclamation to Vaud and Aargau, urging the people to return to their allegiance to her rule; a proposal that met with an emphatic refusal. In their attempt to regain their lost position, the ambitious aristocracies even appealed to the Allied Sovereigns then assembled at Vienna, but receiving an answer upholding the views of the majority of the Diet, they at length gave way and accepted the inevitable.

Stratford Canning.

To Stratford Canning (afterwards Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe), is due in great measure the satisfactory manner in which the new Constitution was formulated and agreed to. His labours in the cause of Swiss unity were unremitting, and his tact and great abilities were used with the happiest effect at a critical time. In his published memoirs[1] he throws much light on Swiss affairs at this period, and incidentally gives many pictures of the Swiss in their domestic and political relations. From his work much of the following is taken.

June, 1814.

On June 28th, 1814, Canning was appointed British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland (which post he occupied till August, 1819), and in the following month took up his residence in Zürich. In a letter dated July 5th, he thus refers to his first public function, in what he calls "the land of liberty and cocked hats." "The great event of to-day is my visit to His Excellency the President of the Extraordinary Diet, a very respectable gentleman, verging upon fifty, reading English, and wearing a black coat and a pig-tail. We exchanged speeches in

1 "The life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe," by Stanley Lane-Poole; 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1888.

presence of sundry Deputies and a General. Guards presented arms, and my procession, consisting of a coach and pair, seemed to produce no small sensation." Referring to social society, he says, "The social resources of Zürich are limited. Men of talent and information belonging to the place were not entirely wanting, but the state of the country gave a local and serious colouring to their conversation, and wives and daughters were more remarkable for their domestic virtues than for the claims and accomplishments of polished society. The hours were primitive, 'early to bed and early to rise,' family dinners at twelve, or soon after, diplomatic banquets by favour at two.

"The people are exceedingly good, not the more poetical for being in the midst of rocks and waterfalls, rather given to matters of fact and prosing—but with a goodness of heart, and, in general, a straightforwardness, which would reconcile one to more determined faults than these. I wish I could say as much as this in favour of their politics. Without any violent absurdity or wickedness on their part, one may readily conceive it to be no easy matter for nineteen independent states to hit upon a joint Constitution, unobjectionable to each. When one considers the materials of which the Confederacy has been gradually formed, as well as the circumstances under which confederation was made, one may rather wonder that it should have found a principle of coherence, than that its re-establishment, after the late changes, should occasion any difficulty. Every possible cause of dissension exists in some part or other of the fabric, and nothing but the pressure from without would bring it together for a moment; but once arranged, and squeezed and glued

into shape, there is reason to hope that it may still resist the storms of Europe, and be mainly conducive to the general repose. The sovereign of the Confederacy returned my first visit on foot, with a cocked hat and sword for his regalia; and the deputies have such an aversion to finery that they make their servants wear their distinctive robes of ceremony, while they themselves proceed to the Diet in suits of indiscriminate black.

"The Helvetic Confederacy was at this time in a very disjointed condition. So long as Bonaparte's Act of Mediation was in force, the old and the new cantons were sensible of a compression which, more or less, held them together in spite of themselves. It is but justice to say that the Act in question derived strength, not only from the power of its author, but in some measure from its intrinsic merit. The Allies deemed it a part of sound policy in the change of circumstances to untie a cord which attached the Alpine Republics to France. By giving the Swiss a new political existence, dating from their triumph in the cause of national independence, they hoped to establish a barrier favourable to their views in the centre of Europe. They imagined that the neutrality of a newly constituted Switzerland might be brought to operate as a check upon the normal tendency of France to extend its power beyond the Alps, and to create aggressive dependencies in Italy and Germany, on the Po, and on the Danube. The Emperor of Russia, in particular, aimed at succeeding to that influence which Napoleon's abdication had left open to the most persuasive, or the most commanding suitor. For this purpose he had found an able and

zealous agent in Count Capodistrias, who, in concert with Lebzeltern, an Austrian diplomatist, had already sounded the respective cantons, and prepared them for a reconstruction of the Federal Act, intended to be the result of their free consent, though fashioned under the impress of foreign influence. . . . My colleagues, in addition to Capodistrias, were Baron Schrant the Austrian, and Count Chambrier the Prussian representative of Neuchâtel, both very respectable members of the old school. [France not being, of course, one of the Allied Powers, had no plenipotentiary, but Count Auguste de Talleyrand was French Minister in Switzerland in 1814 and 1815.] Capodistrias took the lead of them in our debates. He was superior in talent and knowledge, with the additional advantages of natural elocution, Greek dexterity, and a fixed object, commended to him alike by his instructions, and by his personal opinions. He sided generally with the new cantons, whereas the old ones expected sympathy and countenance from me. He hated Metternich, and entertained a strong prejudice against the English and their national policy. . . . Our duties in common were of two kinds. We had to bring the component parts of the Helvetic Diet into unison on the subject of their Federal Compact, and we had also to assist the cantonal authorities in framing their separate conditions in such manner as to make them harmonise with that instrument, and give satisfaction to the contending parties in each independent legislature. The Federal Compact, after being voted by the Diet, could not become law till ratified by the legislative bodies in each canton, and amongst the cantons were those composed severally of two sovereign authorities.

It must be confessed that there was plenty to do, much to adjust, much to amend, and, for us foreigners, much to learn. [There was also much to leave alone. Lord Castlereagh's despatches form one long panegyric of non-intervention.] Every form of republican constitution, from the purest democracy to the highest aristocratic rule, came under our inspection. At Neuchâtel there was even an infusion of royalty."

On the adjournment of the Diet, for the purpose of enabling the several cantonal legislatures to approve the proposed new Federal Constitution, Canning made a tour through many of the most interesting portions of Switzerland. He extols the beauties of the country in poetical terms, and sings the praises of the dead heroes, whose deeds made famous the places he visited. His Austrian colleague, Baron Schrant, in a fit of asthma and choler, told the deputies that their favourite Tell was an assassin. Canning, troubled by no historical doubts, held him to be a hero, and every step in the fight against tyranny won his unbounded admiration. The spirit moved him to pour out such feelings in verse, and half-a-dozen stanzas, dedicated "To the Swiss, 1814," testify to the enthusiasm with which he revered the heroic traditions of their past—(S. Lane-Poole). A.D. 1814.

Lord Castlereagh, shortly after his arrival at the Vienna Congress, ordered Canning to leave Switzerland temporarily and join him (October 15th). Here Canning was appointed the principal English representative on the Committee it was found necessary to nominate for the special consideration of Swiss affairs. In his memoirs, he gives the course of events that centred on Switzerland from this Committee, in which the

important duty devolved on him of drawing up the protocols. "It was occasionally my business in the intervals of the sittings of the Committee to propose some question for deliberation, and the Swiss deputies whether from the Diet or from the separate cantons, honoured me with visits, which had not the angelic quality of being 'few and far between.' There was also the class of mediatised claimants who looked to Congress for their reinstatement, and passed their time in recommending their pretensions to everyone who was supposed to have the slightest influence. The Abbot of St. Gall was one of the dispossessed princes, and I cannot easily forget a dinner at which I enjoyed the questionable privilege of sitting next to him at table. He knew no modern language but his own, and that was a sealed vessel to me. All that we had in common was Latin, which I was not in the habit of talking, and which he pronounced with an accent foreign to my ears. The dinner lasted three mortal hours, and the Abbot thought it an excellent opportunity for putting me in full possession of his grievances, his rights and his hopes."

Meanwhile, though the business of the Committee on Switzerland drew to a close, the Congress itself moved very slowly. International jealousies clogged its rate of progress; Vienna gaities were more congenial to its members than their diplomatic deliberations; "le Congrès danse, mais n'avance pas." An important step was, however, taken by England when the Duke of Wellington arrived at Vienna and superseded Lord Castlereagh. Shortly after the Committee concluded their labours, which are thus summarised by Canning:— "Our Committee had got through their work with fair

success. They concluded by adopting an Act of Federation, essentially the same as that presented by the Diet, but offering some supplementary decisions on points left open at Zürich, and accompanied with a promise of neutrality and guaranty as the price of acceptance. The benevolent feelings entertained by all the Great Powers for Switzerland were recorded in a preliminary exhortation to peace and mutual good-will, which I had the happiness to draw up. Capodistrias had long persisted in his endeavours to give a different character to the Act, and I was constrained to bring the question at issue under the Duke of Wellington's consideration. His Grace invited us to a meeting at his house. I had previously informed him that the Helvetian Diet, as a whole, expected no essential change in the Act which they had adopted, and that their expectations had been confirmed by something very much like a pledge on our parts. He went at once to the point by enquiring of Count Capodistrias whether such was the case. In my presence the Count had but one answer to give, upon which the Duke expressed his opinion that matters had better remain as they were, and so they did."

Act of Federation, A.D. 1815.

On March 13th the Committee sat for the last time, and a few days after Canning, at the request of the Emperor of Russia and the Duke of Wellington, returned to Switzerland, in order to induce the inhabitants to agree to the suggested changes.

March.

CHAPTER XXI

RESTORATION OF THE FEDERAL PACT

A.D. 1815-30. THE political oscillations that show in all periods of great change were especially marked in the modifications the Swiss Constitution underwent after the time of the French Revolution. In several important points the system introduced in 1815, under the auspices of the Congress of Vienna, appeared to countenance retrogressive rather than progressive ideas. Religious liberty to all creeds was not guaranteed, and political equality in many districts disappeared with the Act of Napoleon that recognised both. In several of the chief towns and cantons a form of aristocratic government, very similar to that which formerly obtained, was again established. In Bern, Zürich, Freyburg and other centres, this was specially the case, as here certain patrician families secured the chief offices to themselves and virtually rendered them hereditary, and by allowing only a small number of representatives in the local councils to the peasant classes of the rural districts, they secured to the towns the chief authority over the canton. Liberty of the press and of expressing public opinion were stifled in most of the States, and both the Federal Diet and the local councils fearing or disliking publicity, held their sittings with closed doors. In short, the Swiss city

cantons, though professing Republican principles, resembled much more in their government those of European monarchies. In the Waldstätten, the Graubünden, and in Appenzell, the *Landsgemeinden* were re-established, and a return to the former pure democracy obtained. In Valais democratic rule also prevailed, but here it was less thorough, the inhabitants of the Lower districts not having as many votes as those of the Upper. In the new cantons, formed since 1803 (Aargau, Thurgau, Vaud, St. Gallen and Ticino), the government was popular, as instituted by the Act of Mediation.

The Federal Pact, A.D. 1815.

By the Constitution of 1815, a confederation of twenty-two states was established by the accession of Geneva, Neuchâtel and Valais. Bern, Zürich, and Luzern were constituted *Vororts* or Directing Cantons, each becoming so by turn for two years. Every canton possessed complete control over its own affairs, and, over all, the Federal Diet exercised supreme sovereignty in purely national concerns, as well as in disputes in or between the several cantons themselves. The office of Landammann of Switzerland was abolished. In the Federal Diet each canton had one vote only. During the periods when the Diet was not in session, its functions in all matters of pressing importance were exercised by the Executive Council of the then directing canton, presided over by the chief local official. An important power vested in the Diet was that of sending national troops to occupy any canton or district when the public peace was threatened. Through this latter and the law which forbade one state to take up arms against another, one of the chief weaknesses in the chain of unity was removed.

Treaty with France, A.D. 1816.

The treaty that formerly obliged the Swiss to furnish Napoleon with a large annual contingent of soldiers, came to an end with the downfall of the Emperor, but in its place another was signed with the French King agreeing to furnish that monarch with a force of 11,000 mercenaries (1816).

During the fifteen years the new Constitution lasted, great progress, intellectually and materially, was made, and many useful reforms were effected, and that in spite, perhaps in consequence, of the little political power possessed by the mass of the people. The period is one of profound tranquility, undisturbed by any serious foreign or domestic troubles.

Stratford Canning, A.D. 1815.

On his return from the Congress of Vienna to resume his official duties in Switzerland, Stratford Canning at once set about his difficult task of reconciling the Swiss to the Constitution he brought them. In many parts of the Confederation there certainly was a good deal of discontent at the recent proposals, as was only natural when so many different interests clashed. In the Graubünden especially was much heartburning, as Chiavenna, the Val Tellina and Bormio, formerly subject districts, were taken from the defunct Cisalpine Republic and became the possessions of Austria. In the beginning of the war the Austrians formally repudiated any intention to annex Swiss territories, and in this particular instance, though the districts had for a short time ceased to belong to the Graubünden, the excuse for taking them, that they formed part of one of Napoleon's creations, was certainly a form of political sharp practice. Dappenthal, annexed by the French from Vaud, was restored to that canton, parts of the

districts formerly taken from the Bishopric of Basel were handed over to Bern as compensation for her loss of Vaud, and other territorial changes of a less important kind were made to satisfy different claims. Canning in his memoirs describes the results of his labours. "My principal duties were centred in two objects: the formal acceptance by the Swiss Cantons of the Act of Confederation recommended to them by the Congress, and, somewhat later, the conclusion of a treaty engaging the cantons to take an auxiliary, though as far as possible a defensive, part in the grand coalition against Napoleon. Neither the one nor the other of these points could be carried without some vexatious disputes and much persevering exertion. Among the chief cantons were several which would have preferred a more centralising arrangement than that which was settled by the Act approved at Vienna. The smaller cantons, under a different bias, were attached to certain ideas of their own, and their habits of thought no less than their mountains, confined them to an horizon of narrow extent. None were desirous of incurring the expenses of war, and provoking the ill-will of their vindictive neighbours. They felt the necessity of arming, but thought in general that they could not begin too soon to be neutral. These natural motives for adhering to a disjointed and quiescent scheme of policy gave way by degrees to the pressure of circumstances as appreciated by the good sense of the nation, and some time before the battle of Waterloo had removed every cause of hesitation, the Diet agreed to accept the recommendations of its powerful friends, and to join the Grand Alliance with a contingent of 40,000 men.

"Such in a word were the substantial results of those diplomatic transactions in which, as British Envoy, I was called to take a prominent share. . . .

"It was not without difficulty that the cantons were persuaded to provide the means of furnishing an effective contingent to the allied armies. While the diplomatic batteries were working to that end, the Diet, for its own defence, collected a force of some 15,000 men, and stationed it in Vaud under the command of General Bachmann, a most respectable veteran who had been long in the French service, and whose age and character seemed to represent the neutral system of his country rather than the warlike genius of its people. In prospect of events requiring offensive operations even from the Swiss, Lieutenant-Colonel Leake, an artillery officer, was sent out to act with their contingent, whenever it should be called to take the field. Some time before the battle of Waterloo, a French *corps d'armée* passed through Geneva, and taking the narrow road between the lake of that name and the mountains of Savoy, went to oppose an Austrian army marching up from the Simplon Pass. There could be no question of neutrality after this, and it struck me that the Swiss General might render great service to the common cause, if he would follow on the rear of the French, and, having Geneva at his back, place that portion of the enemy's forces between the advancing Austrians and himself. I consulted with Colonel Leake, and, as there was no time to lose, we agreed to wait upon General Bachmann at once and submit the proposed plan to his consideration. It was late when we arrived at his headquarters, so late indeed that the old man was already in his night-cap.

His good humour was by no means ruffled by the intrusion, and he listened cheerfully to our suggestion, supported as it was by such arguments as the occasion offered. He assured us, however, that he had no discretionary power for taking so decisive a step, and he was bound in duty not to stir without a positive instruction from his Government. As there was no room for disputing this very reasonable objection, we could only regret the loss of what appeared to us an opportunity not likely to recur. But time moved on quickly, and Bonaparte's final disaster in Belgium would have made amends for a much greater disappointment."

Military Organisation.

The period under review is marked by greater advance in prosperity and more general tranquility than the Confederation had for centuries before enjoyed, and now, for the first time, a thoroughly efficient national army was formed, and the foundations laid for the military system that makes that of modern Switzerland second to none in Europe. In many important points it is, indeed, greatly superior, in proportion to the size of the country, to those that have produced the gigantic armies that to-day are rapidly crushing the progressive life out of the great European States. The efforts to organise a national military force made by previous Swiss Governments, sufficiently strong to guard the frontiers from attack from without, and to preserve peace and order within the cantons, had till now proved abortive, either from foreign interference or from the opposition of the Swiss themselves.

As Stratford Canning played an important part in this, as in so many other serious questions affecting

the Swiss, it is necessary once more to refer to his valuable memoirs. "During the winter of 1815-16 and 1816-17 I resided at Bern. . . . The cantons, though still not happily assorted, were glad to partake of the general tranquility consequent upon the *restored restoration* in France and the confirmed ascendency of the Allied Powers. Basel had no longer anything to dread from the ramparts of Hüningen, so laudably demolished. Geneva saw no longer a slip of French territory extending to its lake and interrupting its communications with the Canton of Vaud. Bern had obtained partial compensation for its previous losses by a considerable acquisition from the Bishopric of Basel. The neutrality of the whole Republic, or system of Federal Republics, was formally guaranteed. A share of the indemnity imposed upon France by the Allies was allotted to the Swiss. In short, they had only to keep out of hot water and to ground their independence on some kind of military basis auxiliary to its proper defences, in order to enjoy in peace that unrestrained prosperity which had been so gloriously won by their noble-hearted and simple-minded ancestors. It had been my happy fortune to assist in recovering these priceless advantages for them, and it remained for me to render a further service, for which, to say the truth, I was very ill-qualified.

"Among the leading statesmen were several who felt the necessity of forming, if not a Federal army, at least the nucleus of what might be drawn out into the proportions of an army in times of danger from without. Strange to say, there was some feeling of jealousy or mistrust, which had the effect of paralysing their good intentions and obstructing the progress of

their work. The existence of this difficulty was confided to me, and, in spite of my protestations on the score of ignorance and inability, I was implored to sketch some kind of plan, however imperfect, which might rally the divergent opinions and help them to gravitate towards a common centre. With a strong appreciation of the object in view, I could only promote its accomplishment by putting together, with some appearance of method, such elements of military organisation as I could obtain separately from my professional friends. This I did, bit by bit, cautiously and doubtingly, and it now affords me satisfaction to remember that the experiment was not entirely fruitless. A Federal staff was established, uniformity of drill, arms and clothing were extended to all the cantons, and annual reviews were instituted for securing a due observance of the adopted regulations. . . . Most cordially do I hope that the modest but efficient system thus brought into existence may prove a better safeguard to the liberties and independence of Switzerland than the treacherous passes along its frontier, or the slippery engagements of treaty." After much discussion, and not a little opposition, the Diet finally settled the means of raising, and the plans for organising, the Federal forces. An army of 30,000 men soon followed, well armed and drilled, several military schools were established, especially one at Thun for training, places of strategic importance were surveyed, and the responsible charge of military matters entrusted to a central Council of War (1818). A.D. 1818.

Recall of Jesuits.

The events that so rapidly had altered many political and social systems and customs affected very slightly those of the Church of Rome in Switzerland.

To the north of the Alps the Catholic portion of the country was ruled by five Bishops, while to the south, Ticino owned allegiance to the See of Chur. But one important change was effected at this period, which in later years was followed by serious consequences. This was the formal recall of the order of Jesuits, a measure that met with great opposition in every canton, but which obtained a majority in the Catholic States (1814). The Valais districts were the first to receive the members of the exiled Brotherhood (1815), who three years later took up their residence in Freyburg. Here they founded an important college for young men, engaged extensively in high-class education, and became rich and powerful. Schwyx, though one of the most Catholic of the Cantons, was one of the most conservative and independent, and held out longest against admitting the Jesuits.

Religious and Educational Revival.

Amongst the Swiss generally, unharassed as they now were by domestic or foreign troubles, a distinct revival of religious feeling took place. The brutalising effects of long continued wars, and the unsettling revolutionary epochs through which they had passed, now gave place to the more humanising influences of reason or sentiment. The age of superstition and bitter intolerance gradually faded away, and left the Swiss, like the other peoples of Western Europe, happier, better, and physically and mentally improved. Education no longer remained the privilege of classes, and as men learnt to think more they learnt to hate one another less. Though the educational system adopted by the Swiss left much to be desired, it yet opened its doors to many thousands of the people, who before were quite

excluded from improving their mental condition. The restrictions placed on the chairs in academies and universities, which made them closed corporations, and greatly hampered their sphere of usefulness, were now for the first time removed, and foreigners or Swiss from other States, who possessed special qualifications for teaching, became eligible as professors.

Political Refugees.

After the conclusion of the wars between Napoleon and the Allied Powers, in many countries—especially in Germany—the revolutionary movements had been too great, and at first too successful, to at once disappear with the collapse of the great revolutionary Emperor. Neither were the Governments of the several European States, flushed with recent military success, able to use other than forcible means to counteract the revolutionary movements in their own territories. Everywhere a rigorous system of suppression set in, and soon numbers of proscribed persons from different countries flocked to Switzerland for safety. The welcome and protection they there met did not fail to rouse a spirit of hostility against the Confederation on the part of foreign governments. A characteristic outburst of enthusiasm spread through Switzerland when the Poles and the Greeks attempted to grapple with their oppressors. Without knowing the intricate bearings of the case (which, indeed, was then for the Swiss well-nigh impossible), the people of the cantons looked only at the struggle from the standpoint of two nations fighting for liberty against cruel and semi-barbarous masters. When the turn of fortune went so decisively against the Poles and the Greeks, many patriots of both countries found a hospitable welcome and asylum in Switzerland. Amongst many others the famous

Polish leader, Thaddeus Kosciusco, was supported in the Confederacy, and ended his days at Solothurn. Committees to aid the Greeks sprang up in many centres, and not a few Swiss voluntarily laid down their lives in battle side by side with the men whose cause they espoused. One hundred and sixty Greek refugees were sheltered and supported in Switzerland. One year earlier (1809) a refugee of very different a kind—Gustavius Wasa, the dethroned king of Sweden—also found a safe asylum in Switzerland.

Meanwhile the remonstrances and demands of some of the European Courts on the subject of the refugees were giving the Confederate Diet cause for great anxiety. At length a decree was issued to the several cantonal authorities exhorting them to adopt strong measures to prevent local papers from publishing anything inconsistent with the respect proper to friendly Powers. They were further asked to take effective measures for preventing foreigners who had left their country on account of crime or political revolts, or such as were unprovided with a passport from their respective Governments, taking up their residence in Switzerland. The response made by the cantonal authorities to these requests were far from unanimous. In some the suggestions of the Diet were not only readily agreed to, but proposals to make the law against foreigners even more strict were adopted. In other localities the old spirit of liberty and the right of asylum prevailed. These differences prevented any definite decision being arrived at. Neither was such decision necessary, for as time went on the revolutionary movements gradually subsided, individuals lost the importance formerly ascribed to them, and the fears of the European Cabinets

disappeared. Geneva was not the only place that possessed the faculty of creating "storms in a teacup."

But in spite of the progress made by Switzerland during the fifteen years' rule of the Federal Pact, her rate of progression satisfied neither the great mass of the people nor the chief political thinkers of the time. Many of the largest districts were governed by a small class, who obtained their position by usurpation, and held it by force. It mattered little that no crying acts of injustice or oppression could be brought against these self-constituted rulers. Learning from the past, and adopting themselves to the present, the Swiss revived aristocracies exercised their authority with equity, firmness, and, on the whole, with moderation. Only when attempts were made to displace them did they resort to rigorous measures. As time went on, though there were no actual risings, these attempts became more frequent and more open, coercive measures became more severe, and once again, after the comparative long calm, political troubles threatened the public weal.

CHAPTER XXII

DEMOCRATIC REACTION

A.D. 1838-40. During the fifteen years that ended in 1830 Switzerland enjoyed profound peace. Taking advantage of the natural longing for quiet that always follows on periods of social disturbance, the old aristocratic party in many centres once more usurped place and power. Over-estimating their own influence, and regarding the pause in the on-coming waves of democracy as permanent, they refused all concessions to popular demands, and though their rule was neither harsh nor conspicuously unjust, their position was too anomalous to stand for long in an age when political ideas were changing so quickly. For the first time the people were becoming acquainted with their own power, and, what was more important, they were able to formulate their political aspirations. In the early days that preceded and followed the great Revolutionary epoch all was confusion, and the absurdities then dealt out to the people under the guise of political panaceas were too numerous to lead to any practical result beyond destroying the old order. Confusion still existed in political ideals and methods (as perforce it always must), but it was much less general than formerly. Much that was worn out or harmful had been pulled down and battered out of all form by

frenzied or enthusiastic destroyers, whose work was only arrested by exhaustion, and followed by torpor. With returning life came more reason and less excitement, and men set about in sober earnest to build up, by their own unaided efforts, on and from the ruins of the past, a political and social structure that would last, and would benefit the great mass of the people. The task was delayed by the vagaries of charlatans and the sudden rekindling of the fierce embers of religious bigotry and local hatreds. Many stirring scenes and not a little bloodshed were yet to follow before common-sense and enlightenment enabled Switzerland to settle down under a just and united Government to become a prosperous and united people. In the important democratic changes effected in the period that opens with 1830 and closes with 1848, Switzerland found herself once more contemporary with revolutionary movements in France. These doubtless helped and encouraged her, though they certainly did not originate the many reforms that soon came about in the Confederation. In July, 1830, Paris presented the spectacle A.D. 1830. of bloody encounters taking place in her streets between armed revolutionaries and royal troops assisted by Swiss Guards. Charles X., however, with greater prudence or better fortune than the luckless Louis XVI., managed to save his life, though he lost his unenviable throne.

Democratic Reforms.

The first state to lead the rest of the Confederation in the direction of general democratic reforms was Ticino, a canton in which the mental and moral condition of the inhabitants was probably much lower than elsewhere. Here also, the greatest corruption prevailed amongst the members of the Local Councils, who sold the offices at their disposal, made justice a means of

Ticino.

increasing their incomes by taking bribes openly, and ignored or violated the laws to suit their own ends. Of these people the British Minister has left a not flattering description. Writing in 1815, he describes the debased characteristics of the inhabitants, the lazy worthlessness of the men, the hard and wretched lives of the women, and the weakness of the Government, of this the only Swiss canton exclusively Italian[1] in race and tongue. In spite of these uncongenial surroundings, the spirit of practical reform suddenly awoke.

Lugano, A.D. 1830.

At the annual meeting of the people of Lugano for the election of their Municipal Officers, the question of reform was brought forward, and, with little opposition, a new Constitution upon liberal lines was voted (May, 1830). This example being quickly followed by the other cantonal districts in their general assemblies, a bloodless revolution was effected throughout the whole of Ticino.

The fundamental principles involved in these political changes were shortly afterwards adopted by

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1 About the time under review, a favourite practice with English Protestant preachers was to compare the intelligence, the education, and the general prosperity of countries where Roman Catholicism prevailed with those where the Reformed religion formed the belief of a majority of the people. This always led to the comfortable assurance that the Protestant countries were in a very superior condition to their rivals. One of the most favourite methods of impressing their hearers used by these well-meaning, but not well-informed teachers, was to instance the Catholic and Protestant divisions of Switzerland, and in the former category, Ticino was usually singled out as the special and "awful example" of the degrading effects of popery. An important point omitted from these discussions was the difference in *race*, as well as the many other factors in operation besides *religion*.

all the other Swiss States. Briefly enumerated, they embraced—equality of political rights, direct elections of the members of the legislature, and the duration of their functions limited to a fixed term of years; separation of the three powers, Legislative, Executive and Judicial; publicity of debates, liberty of the press, sanctity of individual liberty and property before the law, as well as the right of petition. These seem all to be essential to the very nature of a republican government, although no European republic, either ancient or modern, ever before acknowledged them, or practised them to their full extent. In all former republics, in other lands and in other times, political rights have been practically confined to one class, or to privileged sections of the community; the mode of election has been vicious in the extreme, and individual liberty and security of property have never been the lot of the whole people. A republic signified a name, not a reality.

Swiss Auxiliaries in France, A.D. 1830.

On the accession of the Duc d'Orléans to the throne of France (August 7th, 1830), under the title of Louis-Philippe, what threatened to become a serious international question between France and Switzerland arose through the former refusing to pay the many Swiss Auxiliaries then in her employ, according to the terms of the treaty in 1816. After many negotiations, and the creation of much bad blood between the two nations, the matter was finally settled in favour of the Swiss claims. After this decision, Louis-Philippe thought it expedient to cease employing foreign troops, and accordingly dismissed his mercenaries, who returned to Switzerland. The sudden entrance of a large body of disbanded soldiers into the cantons could not but

act injuriously to the public peace, and, as will be seen later, many of these were prominent figures in the risings that now began to become serious in many parts of the Confederation. Without entering on a consideration of all and each of the many separate victories of the reforming party, it will be only necessary to refer to the more important. In many districts, the people, in their General Assemblies, met, without violation of the laws, or damage to persons or property, and voted, by large majorities, a new local Constitution, on the democratic lines of that already adopted by Ticino. Of these, one of the first was Thurgau (October); Zürich followed, after a severe political struggle (March, 1831), and, having voted a Constitution, in which the sovereignty of the people was acknowledged, passed under the rule of the Radicals in the following year. Great changes in the direction of making education more thorough, and more within the reach of all, were effected by the new rulers, of whom Ludwig Keller, Hess, Hirzel and Nägueli (the restorer of popular music), were the most conspicuous. Similar changes took place in Aargau, Solothurn, Luzern, St. Gallen, Freyburg, Schaffhausen and other important centres, where, though no actual bloodshed resulted, the political alterations were not made till after much local excitement and a great deal of agitation. In many of these localities, the triumph of popular ideas was signalised by the ceremony of planting "Trees of Liberty," as was done after the French Revolution of Ninety-eight. A somewhat important result of the success and rapid spread of Liberal ideas, was the establishment, at Luzern and other places, where the Church of Rome was powerful, of Catholic societies,

Progress of Reform, A.D. 1830.

the avowed object of which was to combat Liberalism, and bring about, by reactionary methods, a return to Conservative principles. In Solothurn, one of the most influential of these societies, founded by Carl von Haller, who had been driven out of Paris by the Revolution, carried on its propaganda with great energy, and did much to accomplish its object.

The chief changes effected by the adoption of the new cantonal Constitutions were the granting of manhood suffrage, the lessening of the power of individuals, and the equalising of the privileges of the rural and urban populations. The previous status of the latter had ever proved a source of discontent, as through the greater wealth, education and influence of the burghers the towns exercised power and authority out of all proportion to the number of their inhabitants in the aristocratic cantons. Neither were the measures of Reform so many of the cantons had now adopted carried against the wishes of the Federal Authority. On December 27th, 1830, the Diet formally declared it would not interfere with any Reforms of cantonal authorities, provided they were in agreement with the Federal Pact of 1815.

While Radical ideas were thus agitating a large portion of Switzerland and changing the political life of the people in a very pronounced way, several of the other divisions remained apart or unaffected by what were burning questions elsewhere. Amongst these were Geneva, Valais, the Graubünden and the Forest States. In the latter the Conservative instincts of the peasants, who long ere this period had settled upon the most advanced form of democracy as best suited to their special needs, looked with suspicion on any

further changes, as likely to lead to a lessening of their own independence. In Geneva the Government was both good and popular, and the people generally were too prosperous and contented to risk new political departures. In the Valais, where the upper and lower divisions were different in language and customs, the former maintained its old supremacy by its greater power. In Bern the democracy at first had been unable to make any headway against the aristocratic and powerful Government, composed as it was of most of the wealthy and influential families. After 1830, however, things took a very different shape. In the Oberland, in Porrentruy, and in other Bernese territories, murmurs became more open and soon led to general risings against the rule of the city. Headed by popular and able leaders the rural populations were soon organised and able to assert their claims by force. Bern was not backward in preparing to hold her own, or rather what she had unsurped, and ordered a large levy of her militia. Before, however, serious troubles resulted, the good sense of the leaders carried the day, and on January, 1831, at an extraordinary meeting of the city notables, a revision of the Constitution upon the popular basis was voted.

Bern.

So far most of the Reforms were brought about in a comparatively pacific manner, though in some localities party feeling ran high and the opposing factions came very near open rupture. But in three cantons, Basel, Neuchâtel and Schwyx, local politics brought on more serious consequences. The authority exercised by the burghers of Basel over the inhabitants of the rest of the canton had for long proved a source of much jealously and discontent. The city herself

Basel.

was at the time one of the wealthiest and most advanced in Switzerland. The people paid three-fourths of the whole cantonal taxation, and on this account, as well as from her importance as a centre of learning and industry, they managed to secure a majority of representatives in the cantonal legislature, though the inhabitants of the rural districts greatly exceeded them in numbers. In 1830, bowing to the general political feeling, Basel agreed to submit the popular claims to the decision of a commission composed of deputies in equal numbers from the city and from the canton. The report of this commission suggested the adoption of a Reformed Constitution on the general basis of those effected in other localities of the Confederation. To this the city agreed and the suggested changes were about to take effect, when the people of the Liestal districts refused their assent and rose in arms. The movement spread rapidly and assumed serious proportions. The insurgents, confident in their numbers, now boldly advanced towards Basel, and sent the Council a message that unless a totally new Constitution were agreed to, giving, amongst other concessions, five-sevenths of the whole representatives of the canton to the rural population (instead of rather more than half, as the commission had settled), they would carry their demands by force. An answer was to be returned within twenty-four hours. A very different response to that expected was promptly given. The citizens armed themselves *en masse*, attacked the insurgents with artillery from the ramparts, and in a final sortie compelled them to effect a hasty and disorderly retreat. Liestal was next occupied, and after some not over severe punishment had been dealt out

A.D. 1830.

to the leaders of the revolt who were taken prisoners, a general amnesty was proclaimed, and order restored. The new Constitution was submitted to the vote of the whole cantonal population, by whom it was agreed
A.D. 1813. to, and was accordingly adopted (February, 1813). But not for long did peace and quiet reign. In the following year a number of the leaders of the late rebellion again began stirring up the people to make another effort "to raze the walls of Basel, that rampart of higher aristocracy." In these efforts they were only too successful, and being joined by a number of the disbanded Swiss Auxiliaries from France, as well as by many volunteers from other cantons, a peasant army of large size was presently in arms. Liestal was chosen as the headquarters of the movement, and a provisional government installed. Again the citizens rose to the occasion, and without waiting for the approach of the insurgents attacked them. This time the disparity in the numbers engaged was so great that the citizens were compelled in several engagements to retreat with some losses in killed and wounded, the most severe being at Gelterkinden (April, 1822). Much damage was done to life and property by both sides, and every day the mutual hate and violence became more intensified. Every effort of the Federal Diet to bring about peace proved fruitless, and finally, as a last resort, it ordered an occupation by the national forces of the distracted districts. On August 11th, Basel opened her gates and submitted to the Federal troops. Though further hostilities were thus prevented, it was found impossible to bring about peace, and at last as the only solution of the difficulties the Diet pronounced on October 5th, 1832, a provisional sepa-

ration of the canton into "Town and Country," a separation that was made permanent in the following year. In this new order Basel with its six adjoining communes formed one division, whilst the other was made up of the fifty-three remaining communes of the former canton.

Schwyx.

The peasants of Schwyx had lived so long under a system of the purest development of democracy, that they naturally regarded any change as necessarily a change for the worse. Their experience of the application of the doctrines of French Republicanism had confirmed their own ideas in a very practical manner. But their democratic views only applied to the ancient canton itself, or the *Alte landschaft* as it was called, and not to the districts it possessed, such as Einsiedeln, Kussnach, etc., over which it claimed superior rights. The half-canton formed by the outer districts of Schwyx, set up formally a separate Government for itself at Lachen (May, 1832), and there held its elections. This at once led to great local disturbances as well as trouble in the Federal Diet, where the deputies of the new half-canton sat side by side with the representatives of their former masters. Finally, in August of the following year, the peasants of Old Schwyx, seizing the opportunity when the country generally was agitated over the subject of the revision of the Federal Constitution, rose and attempted to recover their lost possessions. Kussnach was seized by a body of 300 armed men, aided by a small battery of artillery, and the whole territory was threatened, when the Diet (then sitting at Zürich) intervened with extraordinary promptitude. This intervention probably saved Switzerland the horrors of another civil war,

A.D. 1832.

as had it been delayed but a few days longer, the rest of the Forest Cantons would certainly have joined Schwyx. Directly the news of the forcible entry into the separated districts became known, the Diet called out the first contingent of the national forces, and by the following day 6,000 men were ready to march. Three days later, 20,000 men from various cantons assembled for service. Schwyx was ordered to be occupied, and without firing a shot this order was obeyed (August 4th). The promptness of the Diet's action, and the discipline maintained by the Federal troops, soon restored order, and the peasants, without showing any disposition to continue their projects, returned peaceably to their homes, and the local troubles
A.D. 1833. that shortly before threatened such serious consequences were finally arranged amicably. In October, 1833, a new Constitution was agreed to by which the natives, of eighteen years of age and upwards, of all the districts, unless debarred by special reasons, were granted political equality. In other matters also, Schwyx so far forgot her ancient prejudices as to conform in all essential details with the spirit of reform seen in the rest of Switzerland.

Neuchâtel. In Neuchâtel, party feelings ran high on local issues, on the reforms elsewhere carried, and on the important question of separation from Prussia. The canton was still in the anomalous position of forming one of the Republican States of Switzerland without
A.D. 1833. ceasing to be a German Principality. In 1833, during the troubles of the attempts to revise the National Constitution, Neuchâtel refused to send deputies to the Federal Diet. As Schwyx and Basel were treated when they took the law into their own hands, so

was Neuchâtel now, and the canton was at once ordered to be occupied by the national troops. The fear of this severe measure cooled the courage of the rebellious state, and the deputies appeared at the Diet. In July, 1834, Neuchâtel again became restless. At that time a majority of the people were certainly in favour of ceasing their connection with the Swiss Confederation. Supported by a declaration voted by the different Communes, the Council of Neuchâtel petitioned the King of Prussia to obtain a severance of the bond that connected them with Switzerland in order that they might return to their old position as simply allies of the Swiss—an action that Frederic William declined to countenance—and a formal demand was next made for separation to the Diet. In addressing the Federal deputies in support of separation, the representative of Neuchâtel thus put the case of his constituents: A.D. 1834.

"Neuchâtel is a constitutional monarchy. As such it entered the Swiss Confederation in 1814, when there was no great collision of political principles in the Confederation. We did our duty as a canton, and our constitution was left undisturbed. But since 1830 a change has taken place. The cantons, which were formerly aristocratic, have not only become democratic, but wish to force their principles on the rest of Switzerland. They openly avow they want to make Neuchâtel a Republic, but a majority of the inhabitants of Neuchâtel do not wish it to become a Republic. The Federal flag, instead of being to us a symbol of security and peace, is made a symbol of discord and civil strife. This cannot last. Let Neuchâtel be no longer a canton; let it return to its

former position of an ally. Confederates! accept the hand of alliance we offer you. Be unto us what your forefathers were to ours. As allies, we were ever faithful to Switzerland, and fought and perished in her battles."

To the prayers of this petition the other cantons unanimously refused to accede, feeling the weakening effect it would have on the Confederation were the door of secession once opened.

Reform of Federal Constitution.

The democratic victories and advances now firmly established in Switzerland made the reform of the Federal Constitution itself a necessary sequel. In this nearly all were agreed; the difficulty lay in the means and the manner. Apart from other minor parties, two great divisions of opinion separated the Swiss on this important issue. On one hand were the advocates of greater centralisation in the Federal Government, on the other were those who maintained the sovereign independence of the individual cantons. In the latter party, which numbered fewer adherents than the former, the small mountain states were the most determined opponents of all changes likely in any way to lessen cantonal power and freedom of action, and finally the question came formally before the Diet in 1832, then sitting at Luzern. In the discussions that took place the opponents of reform, who were now joined by the deputies from the rural half of Basel and those of Neuchâtel, offered a strenuous resistance to any change. This hostility brought about the formation of two combinations, destined in the near future to play very important *rôles* in the nation's history. With the determination to carry Federal reform, and at the same time to preserve

A.D. 1832.

their own cantonal constitutions, seven states (Bern, Luzern, Zürich, Solothurn, St. Gallen, Aargau and Thurgau) agreed to form a League and support one another in what threatened to become a serious contest. This League, known as the *Siebenerbund*, was definitely entered upon and formally signed at Luzern on March 17th. It was clearly contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the existing Constitution, as it was a separate alliance of several cantons without reference to the whole Confederation and without the authority of the Diet. Shortly after, the question of revision was carried (July 17th), and referred to a commission of fifteen deputies under the presidency of Edward Phyffer, of Luzern. The celebrated Professor Rossi, Deputy of Geneva, was entrusted with the important function of reporting on the decision of the commission and drawing up the actual results arrived at. From him the revised Constitution is named the *Pacte Rossi*.

Siebenerbund, A.D. 1832.

Pacte Rossi.

Meanwhile the cantons hostile to reform in their turn formed a secret league to counteract, if possible, the designs of their opponents. The creation of this second league took place at Sarnen (hence called the *Sarnerbund*) on November 14th, and was subscribed to by the representatives of the Forest Cantons, and those of Neuchâtel, Basel-city, and Valais. The *Sarnerbund* was the first step in the tragedy of the war of the *Sonderbund* that in a few years was to have such momentous and lasting effects on the Swiss people.

Sarnerbund.

The draft of the new Constitution submitted to the Diet proved a compromise between the Confederate system, established in 1815, and that advocated by the

more advanced thinkers of the time. Its chief features were a permanent Federal Council of five members, sitting at Luzern, and presided over by a "Landammann of Switzerland," to be elected by the direct vote of the cantons; publicity to be given to the meetings of the Government; the finances, military forces, post and other departments to be centralised; freedom of industries and manufactures (in many ways formerly restricted or forbidden), and generally, without destroying the individual sovereignty of the cantons in matters purely local to place all such as affected the safety and well-being of the nation at large on a firmer and more permanent basis. Though far more liberal than the Constitution it proposed to supersede, and introduced under such apparently favourable circumstances, the Pacte Rossi shared the fate of most compromises. By a coalition between those who deemed it went too far, and those who thought it did not go far enough, the scheme was rejected by a majority of the Diet (July, 1833).

A.D. 1833.

Immediately on the rejection of this measure of reform the Diet took a very important step, and declared the *Sarnerbund* an illegal combination, and accordingly dissolved it (August, 1833). After acting thus decisively, it showed great moderation in its further dealings with the rebellious districts, and resisted all efforts on the part of the advanced Liberals to punish severely the chiefs of the dissolved league. The majority omitted, however, one act that impartial justice demanded. It did *not* dissolve the *Siebenerbund* composed of its own members.

Religious Troubles.

With the formation of the *Sarnerbund*, followed as it was by the failure of the Diet to bring about a reform in the Federal Constitution, a strong reactionary movement set in in many parts of Switzerland, and religious

troubles threatened once more to check the progress of the nation. To the oft-repeated disputes between Catholics and Protestants, and the vagaries of fanatical sects of the latter creed, was now added one of those rare revolts in the ranks of the former that periodically loosen the rock of Roman orthodoxy. To the Liberals many subjects of a politico-religious nature had long seemed out of keeping with the progress of the times, and while most Catholics still held faithfully to the doctrines of their Church, many agreed on the necessity of change in matters outside the fundamental principles of their faith. The control exercised in state and domestic matters by the See of Rome was a source of perpetual discontent to a people so characteristically fond of freedom and independence as the Swiss. All efforts to induce the Pope himself to initiate the proposed reforms necessarily proved abortive, and at last matters were brought to a crisis by the meeting of a French Congress at Baden, in Aargau, to consider the subject (January 20th, 1834).

Congress of Baden, A.D. 1834.

At this gathering were representatives of Luzern, Bern, Solothurn, Zug, St. Gallen, Aargau, Thurgau and Basel-county. After much and careful deliberation, a series of fourteen articles were drawn up petitioning Rome and the Swiss Governments and people, to appoint an Archbishop for the whole land, in lieu of a Nuncio, who often lessened the authority of the several bishops; to establish meetings of synods; to allow civil and mixed marriages; to reduce the number of the fêtes; to allow proper supervision over religious schools; to admit none to the priesthood who were not capable and properly educated; to give the local Government power to appoint to theological professorships without

the authority of the Church; and in short, besides other minor matters, to give to the Civil Government authority and independence from Rome. The promulgation of these articles, as might be expected, gave rise to a furious attack on those who drew them up by the clergy, the Pope, and by many of the Catholic laity themselves. The members of the Baden Congress were declared heretics, who were attempting to bring about a schism in the Church, and do away with Church and State connection. In Aargau and Porrentruy especially, great disturbances followed, and here the most striking demonstrations against the proposals were made by bands of enthusiastic women who accentuated their religious views by planting "Trees of Religion," and placarding the streets with notices, calling upon the people to remain true Catholics or perish in the effort.

A.D. 1834. Ominous cries were also raised of "Down with the Huguenots!" So great did the tempest become, that in Bern and Aargau the authorities found it necessary to call in military aid to maintain order. Several of the Councils of the Catholic Cantons, and of those where the Protestants and Catholics were fairly balanced, nevertheless adopted the Baden articles, being led in this revolt by St. Gallen (March, 1834), where a public school was opened for the admission of children of both creeds alike, and where a convent was suppressed. An official stamp, indeed, seemed about to be conferred on the new movement, when suddenly the Catholics of the Jura districts called on the French for aid and protection against the Heretics. This was readily promised, and a threat was launched against the Government that, if the movement continued, France would occupy the country. On this, Bern, who was fully occupied with

her own local political troubles, thought it prudent to repudiate all responsibility for the Baden proposals, and a like policy was also pursued by the Catholic Cantons, with the exception of Luzern and Aargau, where a serious struggle was in progress between the civil and ecclesiastical powers for supremacy. That the movement, in spite of the action of the local councils, continued and bore fruit, the religious independence of the Catholics of Switzerland at the present time amply proves.

Political Refugees.

Already distracted by religious and political dissensions, the Swiss had now to enter into a serious dispute with the great European Powers on the renewed subject of the political refugees who sought an asylum within the Confederation. The majority of these were Poles, who fled from their country after the disastrous battle of Ostrolenka (May 26th, 1831), though there were also considerable numbers of Italians and Germans. Abusing the hospitality freely given them in Switzerland, the refugees presently began plotting against their respective States, and even engaged in active hostilities. The chief organiser in these conspiracies was the exiled Italian patriot, Massini, whose activity soon created a number of secret associations, under the names of *Young Poland*, *Young Germany*, *Young Italy*, and even the more ambitious one of *Young Europe*. These societies acted as rallying centres for patriots of different nationalities, and became sources of great danger to Switzerland, by their acts of hostility against the governments of foreign states. In January, 1834, a more than usually daring effort was made by the refugees. In the previous year a large number of Poles entered Canton Bern from France, where they had taken refuge after leaving

A.D. 1834.

their own land. Passing from the Bernese territories, some 400 gathered in small parties in Vaud, where they were joined by 600 revolutionaries of other nations, including a contingent of students from Zürich. Through the open sympathy of the peasants, they met with no hindrance (though the local authorities ordered their disarmament), even when it was discovered what their design really was. This was nothing less than an attack on Savoy, where insurrections were expected to break out. On the night of January 1st the expedition, under the command of the Italian General, Romarino, crossed the lake and landed in Savoy, near Hermance, at one extremity of Canton Geneva. Here the Geneva authorities interfered, arrested a portion of the refugees, and sent them back without their arms to Vaud. In spite of this check the main body continued to advance, and entered Annemasse and other villages. The alarm, however, had now spread, and a Piedmontese force appearing on his flanks, and receiving no support from the peasants, Romarino fell back after a slight engagement, and entered Canton Geneva. Here the Government at once ordered the arrest of the leaders, and the general disarmament of the rank and file, an order that was not executed till after great difficulty, in consequence of the popular sympathy with the refugees. Finally they were marched back under a strong escort to Vaud, whence they were sent to Bern. For her part Bern refused to receive her turbulent visitors, and did so at last, only after Zürich, the then *Vorort*, had been appealed to, and after Vaud and Geneva had agreed to pay part of the expenses the expedition had cost, a sum amounting to 80,000 livres.

Expedition to Savoy, A.D. 1834.

This flagrant violation of the right of asylum, and

the tardy manner in which the Swiss authorities acted to stop the movement, brought down upon the Confederation remonstrances from the Sardinian Government, remonstrances which were joined in by the Courts of Austria, Prussia, and the other great European States, including England. The tone used by the aggrieved Powers, at first mild, soon became threatening and peremptory. They demanded the immediate dissolution of the secret associations founded in Switzerland, the expulsion of the exiles, and the trial of all the Swiss who took part in the expedition against Savoy. Failing to obtain satisfaction to these demands, a general political and commercial boycot of the Confederation was threatened. After much correspondence the more important demands of the Powers were acceded to. In June, after asserting the principle "that every independent state possesses the right of admitting fugitives from other countries and protecting them so long as they conduct themselves peaceably," Zürich, as the directing canton, admitted that "it is the duty of every state to prevent refugees from abusing the right of asylum by disturbing the peace of other countries. Those who so abuse the hospitality granted them ought to be deprived of all means of renewing the attempt." In accordance with this principle, the Swiss Government promised in future to expel from their territories all who should attempt to disturb the peace of other states. This declaration satisfied the aggrieved Powers, and for a time peace was restored. Many of the exiles, with the assistance of the French Government, passed through France, and embarked for England and America. But not for long did quiet continue. In

many parts of Switzerland the ultra-Radicals expressed themselves dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Vorort* in this matter, accusing it of sacrificing the principles of Swiss liberty to its servile fear of foreign despots, and many indignant public meetings protested, in no measured tones, against the decision come to. The voice of the nation, however, as expressed through the votes of the deputies when the question came before the meeting of the next Diet (July), exonerated and supported the conduct of Zürich. The question, far from being settled by this decision of the Diet, soon again became a serious one for the Confederation, due in great measure to the partial way in which the cantons carried out the decree of the National Government and allowed the laws to be evaded. In many places secret political societies were active, and formed rallying points for refugees of different nationalities. Again the Powers, France especially, began to remonstrate and to threaten. Nothing of importance occurred to bring the question prominently forward in 1835, but in the succeeding year it again came to the front. The activity and audacity of many of the exiles were now sufficient to cause serious apprehension to several of the states bordering on Switzerland. Already
A.D. 1836. in the beginning of the year the Powers were urging the Swiss Government to enforce the decrees of 1834 with such impatience that Bern (the then directing canton) was obliged to take action, and in a note sent to the French Ambassador in June, the *Vorort* explained its position, and urged on all the Cantonal Governments, in the most pressing manner, the necessity of arresting the political refugees who took part in the Savoy expedition, or who in any way endangered

the interests of Switzerland by revolutionary attempts against friendly Powers. Bern further explained to the French Ambassador that in order to expel the revolutionaries it was necessary to obtain the consent of some foreign Power to receive them, and requested France to perform this office. Consent was readily given, but given with such a peremptory demand for instant action that Bern felt she could not comply without humiliation, and accordingly left the matter to the decision of the General Diet, which met in the following month. Here the question was thoroughly discussed, and eventually referred to a special commission. Meanwhile, France, supported by Austria, Prussia and Baden, handed in a communication, stating that unless the Diet soon arrived at a decision satisfactory to the foreign Powers, a close blockade of the Swiss frontiers would be instituted (August 5th). This energetic action had the desired effect, and on August 9th the Diet adopted a set of resolutions in accordance with the foreign demands. Shortly, they included the immediate expulsion of all foreigners whose conduct endangered the peace of Switzerland or any other state, and laid the duty of carrying this out on the several cantonal authorities, under the direction of the Federal Government, giving the latter power to enforce the decrees in the event of the local authorities refusing compliance. Whilst the Diet's decision was under discussion by the cantons (in many of which it was energetically condemned) an incident occurred which, for the moment, created great excitement.

L'Affaire Conseil, A.D. 1836.

Among the refugees was one Auguste Conseil, then passing under a false name. This man was

thought specially dangerous to France, and, accordingly, his expulsion was formally demanded by the Duc de Montebolro, the French Ambassador, at the instance of M. Thiers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Conseil's arrest led to the discovery that he was a paid agent of the French King, who, distrusting his own Minister, had sent one of his secret police to Switzerland to win the confidence of the more prominent refugees, and report their movements directly to his royal master without communicating with the Ministry. All Switzerland blazed up with indignation against this underhand method of carrying on political warfare; a special commission of the Diet took the subject up, and fully investigated it. This action of the Swiss was taken by the French Government as an aggravated insult, and M. Thiers accordingly put his threat into execution, and broke off all relations with the Confederates (September 27th), which, together with the fear that the other Powers would follow suit, induced a majority of the Diet to offer an apology to France and submit to all her demands. The meeting in which the humiliating decision was arrived at was a stormy one, and the only one since 1834 held with closed doors (October 31st).

Louis Napoleon, A.D. 1838.

The year 1837 passed without any noteworthy incident, but 1838 was productive of the most important of the many chapters of the harassing refugee question, inasmuch as it nearly landed Switzerland in a war with France, a conflict that in her then disunited condition, could have ended only in disaster for the Confederation. After his abortive attempt to create a revolution at Strasburg in 1836, young Louis Napoleon, son of the ex-King of Holland, was arrested,

and through the clemency of the French Government escaped further punishment than expulsion from Europe. Returning, he took up his residence with his mother, Hortense, in his Château of Arenenberg in Thurgau, where he had before lived. Here he became a naturalised Swiss, was elected a member of the local council, president of the cantonal shooting association, and, after studying military science under Colonel Dufour (the future saviour of Switzerland) he obtained a commission as captain in the Bernese artillery. But though apparently acting as a good citizen of his adopted country, Louis Napoleon never ceased to lose an opportunity to further his own designs to obtain the French throne, and Arenenburg became little more than an active centre for intrigues and plots against France. Regarding his position and conduct as sources of danger to the established Government, the French Minister demanded his expulsion (August), and a renewal of the old threats of 1836 took place. His standing as a Swiss citizen made the Confederates chary of conceding the French demands, especially as these demands were couched in language that every day became more imperious. Switzerland was no longer a province of France, whose dictates she was compelled to obey. Louis Napoleon's exile was, however, felt by many to have destroyed his rights as a Swiss citizen, and a decision in this sense was carried by a small majority of the Diet. Still the general feeling in the country was so great, that the question of his expulsion was deemed too serious to be decided by the Diet alone, and was accordingly referred to the cantons. Impatient at the delay thus caused, the French Ambassador personally visited several of

the cantons with the object of inducing the local governments to submit. Failing in this, the French Ministry withdrew their representative from Switzerland, and concentrated 25,000 men at Lyons with the avowed object of invading the country (September). In the presence of this threatened national danger, the old patriotic and military instincts of the Swiss again showed themselves. All over the Confederation, but especially in the French-speaking districts, popular feeling declared for resistance, and volunteers by thousands took up arms. In Vaud and Geneva the people armed *en masse*, and in most of the cantons the militia was at once called out for service. From the country the patriotic enthusiasm spread to the Diet, and an energetic and final answer was returned to France by the National Government. Not for many years past had Switzerland been so near so important and so serious an enterprise as that she now prepared to enter on. Alone and unprepared, the Swiss proposed to encounter the formidable risks of a trial of strength with the whole weight of the French kingdom.

Fortunately at this critical moment, the horrors of war were prevented by the generous action of Louis Napoleon, who, rather than submit those who had so well and gallantly sheltered him to certain slaughter, and their country to certain ruin, voluntarily left Switzerland. As his presence in the cantons was the only cause of the trouble, the French withdrew their troops, popular feeling gradually subsided, and the two countries again entered into amicable relations.

Local troubles in Schwyx, A.D. 1838.

In 1838, civil troubles once more broke out in Schwyx, consequent on politics causing serious dissensions over the election of the Landammann. Indeed,

so great became the disturbances, which were far beyond the power of the local authorities to quell, that in order to prevent matters becoming more serious and spreading to other centres, the Federal Government again interfered, and quiet was restored. In the neighbouring Canton of Glarus also political and religious differences divided the people and gave rise to much trouble. In Zürich and Ticino difficulties from the same causes brought about riots and stringent repressive measures, from which much damage to property resulted, and even several deaths from violence. In Ticino quiet was not restored till the Liberal party became sufficiently strong to assume the responsibilities of office. In Zürich a very serious outbreak of popular religious feeling showed itself in 1839, when, the extreme Radical and Freethinking party being in power, David Strauss was appointed to the University Chair of Theology. As Strauss had recently published his "Life of Jesus," in which he treated the Gospels as legendary myths, the appointment was regarded by Protestants and Catholics alike as an open insult to religion. Under the influence of popular pressure the Government revoked the noxious appointment, but as they granted a pension to Strauss indignation again was aroused. All over the canton enthusiastic meetings were held, at which the action of the Government was condemned in the strongest language, and resolutions were passed calling upon the Radical authorities to resign. These means failing to produce the desired effect, action took the place of words, the people armed, and under the leadership of their pastors and other influential men, an army of 10,000 peasants marched upon Zürich to enforce the wishes of the majority.

Glarus.

Zurich, A.D. 1839.

Before reaching the city they were met by a strong detachment of troops, and the order was given, "In the name of God, fire!" In the encounter several were killed on both sides, victory eventually remaining with the peasants. Upon this reverse the Radicals resigned, and were succeeded by their opponents, through whose tact and firmness the revolt ended without further bloodshed, and the religious enthusiasts returned to their homes.

These events greatly shook the authority of the National Government, occurring, as they did, under the very eyes of the Federal Diet. A proposal, it is true, was made in the Diet to occupy Zürich with Federal troops, and to transfer the Diet (then sitting at Zürich) to some other locality, but nothing came of these suggestions.

Valais, A.D. 1839.

The anomalous system of government that for so long existed in Valais, through the preponderating political power exercised by the inhabitants of the Upper Divisions over those of the Lower, in the Cantonal Government, was, during this period, brought into a condition more in conformity with the principles of equality than elsewhere obtained. Since 1815, the German Upper Division returned twenty-four out of the fifty-two representatives that made up the local council, and that in spite of the number of the inhabitants of the Lower Division being nearly double that of the Upper. This disproportion was maintained all through the recent years of democratic advance in other parts of Switzerland. In August, 1839, a new Constitution was adopted for the canton upon democratic lines, under the auspices of the Federal Diet (then sitting at Zürich), but, after the fall of the

Radical Government in that city, the Upper Valais Division refused to admit the change. Thereupon the inhabitants of the Lower districts rose as one man, marched upon Sion, defeated their adversaries, and forced them to grant the demands so long withheld (April, 1840). A new Constitution was then framed, A.D. 1840. and a Grand Council for the canton formed of deputies elected upon the basis of proportional population, and other changes followed, in accordance with the wishes of the majority. Amongst these, the Catholic Faith was proclaimed as the official religion of the canton, and the Bishop was granted, *ex officio*, a seat in the Council.

In Geneva, also, that special home of Swiss revolutionary movements, the Government was, after a severe struggle, and not a little bloodshed, forced to succumb before the Radicals. These latter, led by the able, but not too scrupulous, James Fazy, gained important victories in 1841 and 1843, and brought about considerable changes of a democratic nature in the local government. *Geneva*, A.D. 1841.

In the midst of the political alterations taking place in so many centres of Switzerland, Aargau attempted again to revise its Constitution. For long the balance of parties was too even to permit either side obtaining an advantage, but, in 1840, the Radicals were sufficiently strong to form the majority. On this the clerics so worked on the feelings of their followers, that a revolt resulted. The rising was put down, but served as an excuse for the Government, supported by that of Bern, to pass a decree suppressing the eight convents and monasteries within its territory. At once great and tumultuous meetings of protest were *Aargau*, A.D. 1840.

held all over the Confederation, and serious trouble seemed imminent. So great became the general feeling against the measure, that it was found necessary to call an Extraordinary Diet to consider the question. This met at Bern, and, as the action of Aargau was clearly opposed to the Constitution as framed in 1815, it was decided the latter must be upheld. The powerful support of Bern and other important cantons, however, enabled Aargau to obtain a compromise, and, in a final decision, the Diet declared only four of the threatened religious houses should be suppressed.

Valais Civil War, A.D. 1844.

The flame of religious strife lighted up in Aargau over the question of the suppression of the convents, blazed into a destroying fire in the recently-disturbed districts of Valais. Here party hatred became obscured by religious fanaticism. Though a new local Constitution was in force in the canton, based upon democratic principles, the clergy had succeeded in exempting their own property from public charges. In a period of heavy taxation and general poverty, this exemption proved a source of much irritation to the Liberals, who loudly expressed their indignation, and publicly thanked the Bern and Aargau Governments for their action in the matter of suppressing the convents. Neither did the establishment of the Jesuits at Salvan do otherwise than nourish the mutual hatred that now rapidly spread amongst the excitable and ignorant masses of the people. Soon the play of party, creed and private passions became so furious, and the power of the Government so feeble, that an absolute war of extermination—a veritable vendetta—set in, and effectually stopped, for the time, all material and political progress. The chief agents in fomenting

these troubles were the members of two secret societies —known as *Young Switzerland* and *Old Switzerland*— formed to promote, by fair or foul means, the objects of the rival sections. Both societies had local newspapers, which vied with one another to excel in violent incentives to crime, rather than in literary excellence. While the members of Young Switzerland were recruited from Lower Valais, and professed advanced Liberal opinions, those of the opposite association came chiefly from the Upper districts, and were ardent clerical and Conservative supporters. Open encounters, with much bloodshed, secret murders and destruction of private property, soon brought about a condition of general terrorism, and all authority, save that of the rival societies, came to an end. While the war was at its height, the violence, bigotry and unscrupulous means employed by both sides, left little to choose between them, though the Liberals were certainly the more aggressive at the commencement. In the midst of the Valais troubles, the Confederate Government found itself too occupied with its own political dissensions, to do more than make a feeble effort to allay the strife, by sending a commissioner to investigate the causes of the disturbances. He effected, however, no good, having the confidence of neither party. Matters finally came to a crisis by a more than usually tragic encounter. In May, a large contingent of the Old Switzerland party occupied Sion, in order to prevent a public gathering there of their rivals. Baulked by this action, the Liberals, who were marching on the city, deferred their meeting, and began a retreat. Arriving at the gloomy and dangerous defiles of Trient, they were suddenly attacked by a large body

of their opponents who lay concealed among the rocks. Both sides fought with the fury only religious and political hate can create, but the superior numbers and advantageous position of the clericals at length gained the victory. In this butchery, for it was little else, nearly a hundred were slain, many being hacked to death in the most diabolical manner. The news of the massacre of Trient roused the indignation of the Liberals all over Switzerland, and, what was more important, for a time obscured local quarrels elsewhere sufficiently to bring about united pressure on the Diet. Energetic action followed, and, after the infliction of severe punishments on the chief offenders of both parties, order and quiet once more were restored to Valais.

The Jesuits, A.D. 1844.

The next burning question to arrest public attention was that of the Jesuits. For many years the order had proved a serious cause of division among politicians. As a body, the Liberals, and especially the Radicals, were strongly opposed to allowing the Jesuits to take up their residence in the Cantons at all, and in this opposition they were joined by many Conservatives, and not a few Catholic priests. Already excluded from Luzern, they were recalled by a vote of the Council in October, 1844, on the wave of reaction then changing the political aspect of that city, and given important positions. As Luzern was at the time the *Vorort*, this vote was significant of coming troubles, and it was not long before it led to civil war and much bloodshed. From 1841-44 the reaction against Liberalism which set in after the abortive efforts to revise the Federal Constitution took a decided turn, and once more Radicalism grew apace. Luzern became the centre of

a general attack by the advanced party throughout the Confederation in consequence of its action in recalling the Jesuits, and on two important occasions armed forces did actually threaten it. In many centres large bodies collected under Liberal leaders and prepared to enforce their political ideas. The Diet meanwhile had sunk into a condition of such feebleness that its power to maintain peace and order was practically gone. This was well seen when in December some 600 armed Liberals made an open attempt to seize Luzern, but were promptly met and defeated by the local troops after an obstinate fight. Flushed with their success, the Luzern authorities then began coercive measures against their political opponents, numbers of whom were imprisoned or otherwise punished, with very little reference to justice, and none to mercy. As many of the members of the party that made the abortive attempt were citizens of other cantons, notably of Aargau, Solothurn and of Basel, the conduct of their respective Governments, as well as that of the Federal authorities, in allowing them to march openly in arms against Luzern naturally led to much bad feeling, and advertised the disunited state of the Confederation. But another and much more serious attempt of a similar nature in the following year still more forcibly brought this forward, and led up to the great crisis that was soon to put the nation on a better and more healthy footing. In March, a well-organised expedition, numbering 7,000 Liberals from Bern, Solothurn, Vaud and other districts, including many of those expelled from Luzern for their politics or their religion, made a determined effort to accomplish what in the previous year had so signally failed. Leaving their respective

Attacks on Luzern, A.D. 1844.

Renewed Attacks on Luzern, A.D. 1845.

cantons without any interference on the part of the local authorities, the self-styled liberators of their country marched with very little opposition to Gütsch, on the heights that commanded Luzern. Their numbers and formidable armaments struck terror into the Government of the threatened city, the chiefs of which were on the point of escaping when fortune unexpectedly came to their assistance. Had a single shot been fired the city would certainly have capitulated. But want of proper provisions, the fatigues of a forced march, and the circulation of a number of false reports, brought about a panic in the ranks of the besiegers. One of the commanders of the expedition, moreover, Dr. Robert Steiger, of Luzern, would not consent to the bombardment of his native city, and, though the guns were in position, precious time was lost. All became confusion and discipline ceased. Some retreated at once, whilst the rest opposed but a feeble resistance to the Luzern troops who, when the true state of things became known, attacked them. Two thousand of the expedition were captured, over a hundred were killed outright, and the city hospitals and churches were soon filled to overflowing with the wounded and the prisoners. The magnitude of this lawless outbreak at last roused the sleeping Federal authorities to a sense of their responsibilities and the dangers that were rapidly ruining their country. A levy of 16,000 troops was ordered, all future illegal gatherings were prohibited, those who escaped from the late battle were arrested, whilst a general amnesty was asked from the Luzern Government for those implicated in the rising. To this latter Luzern consented, but only on the condition that the cantons whence the

invaders came should pay all the expenses the expedition had cost (April).

Since the formation of the separate league of the Catholic Cantons, known as the *Sonderbund* (in 1845), the religious and political differences of the Swiss rapidly became intensified, and it was now evident that a serious collision between the rival sections was merely a question of time and opportunity. The collision came sooner than either party foresaw. On the side of the Catholics were the Cantons of Luzern, Uri, Schwyx, Unterwalden, Zug, Valais, and the Inner Rhode of Appenzell, all banded together with the ostensible object of defending the rights and sovereignty of their individual cantons according to the terms of the Constitution of 1815. The real object of this separate Confederation was, however, undoubtedly to further an ultramontane policy, under the protection of foreign Catholic powers, and to stem, at all hazards, the growing tendency in Switzerland towards centralisation in the government. Jealousy of state rights had ever been (and still is) a characteristic of the people of the mountain cantons who dreaded, above all things, being merged, as unimportant factors, into one national system of confederacy. A strong religious feeling of respect and affection for the Catholic faith, which appeared to have fallen on evil days, added force and impulse to the political situation. The doings and intentions of the *Sonderbund* were carefully kept secret, and in consequence of the mystery that enveloped it, gave rise to many exaggerated rumours of its strength and the extent of its influence. Finally, the question whether Freyburg should also join the League was brought forward openly in the Cantonal Council, in 1846. After

The Sonderbund, A.D. 1845.

much discussion and a good deal of angry remonstrance from the minority, the question was settled in the affirmative. The publicity thus given to the movement naturally created much popular agitation in the other
A.D. 1846. cantons, that finally led to a proposal in the Federal Diet (then sitting at Zürich), for the dissolution of the League (July). On the question being put to the assembly, it was lost by a majority of one vote only (September 4th).

Geneva. The struggle was next transferred to Geneva, where, in the following month, the Council passed a resolution to the effect that the *Sonderbund* was an illegal combination, contrary to the Constitution, but, at the same time, it was not prepared to use force for its suppression.

The latter part of this resolution not satisfying the Radicals of the town, a serious rising took place, in which several lives were lost and much damage was done. Upon this the Council resigned, and was succeeded by one of a more Radical complexion headed by James Fazy, the leader of the advanced Liberal party. The first important act of the new Council was to vote a resolution urging extreme measures against the *Sonderbund* States. These changes in Geneva made the deputies representing the rival parties equal in the Federal Diet, and a similar Radical victory at St. Gallen
A.D. 1847. in the following year, secured a majority adverse to the League, a result that was hailed with the loudest demonstrations of joy among the Liberals all over Switzerland.

In July the Federal Diet assembled at Bern, and the *Sonderbund* difficulty was naturally the foremost subject for discussion. Long and heated was the en-

suing debate, in which the Catholic deputies in vain tried to justify the formation of the League by citing the impotence or indifference of the Federal Government in the matter of the attacks on Luzern and in the civil war in Valais. In vain they protested against the individual rights and wishes of their cantons being swamped by a hostile majority in the Diet. The majority had already made up its mind on the burning question, and though the discussion lasted several days, it was in no way influenced by its opponents' arguments, still less by their threats. On July 20th the representatives of Zürich, Bern, Solothurn, St. Gallen, Schaffhausen, Aargau, Ticino, Geneva, Vaud, Thurgau, the Outer Rhode of Appenzell, Basel-county and Glarus, carried a resolution that the *Sonderbund* was contrary to the Constitution, and further, ordered all armaments (which for some time past were going actively on) to cease in the cantons of the League. Shortly afterwards two special Committees were appointed, one to advise on the best means to be taken to enforce the Diet's decree, and the other to report on the many schemes put forward by different political parties for the revision of the Federal Constitution.

One other important step was taken by the majority of the Diet before it separated. This was the passing of a decree making the expulsion of the Jesuits obligatory on all the cantons (September 3rd).

Whilst events in Switzerland were thus drifting the nation into civil war, the representative of England did his best to moderate the hostile feelings of the rival parties, but with no result. Active communications constantly passed from the leaders of the

Sonderbund to the Courts of France, Austria and Prussia, all of which Powers seem to have given encouragement to the idea that, in the event of war, they would assist their co-religionists.

Far from submitting to the decisions of the Diet, the *Sonderbund* cantons continued raising, arming and drilling troops, and absolutely refused to dissolve their separate Confederacy. Under these circumstances, the national representatives once more met in Diet at Bern (October 18th). The wordy warfare here became even more furious than before, and that in spite of the earnest endeavours of the deputies of the Graubünden, Zug and Basel-town, to bring about peace. After many passionate protests against the action of the majority, the representatives of the League finally left the Diet in a body (October 29th), and returned to their constituents. The remaining deputies still hesitated to take the serious step of employing force to compel obedience, fearing lest this act would bring about foreign intervention. Their fears, however, were finally shown to be groundless by the representative of Great Britain, who, under orders from Lord Palmerston, whilst counselling moderation to both parties, remained a firm and powerful friend of the Federal Government. On November 4th the die was cast, and the Diet formally decreed the *Sonderbund* should be dissolved by force of arms.

The Federal Diet had long pursued a vacillating and impotent policy in its relations with the individual cantons and the many political and religious parties that threatened to destroy completely the national life of the Swiss. Having at length awakened from its lethargy, it henceforth entered on a new life, dis-

tinguished by resolution, firmness and, on the whole, impartiality and sound sense. After the decree of November 4th, little time was lost in carrying it into effect. A levy of the Federal forces was ordered, and within a very short period 100,000 troops were ready to take the field, together with an effective contingent of artillery. The supreme command was conferred on Colonel Dufour of Geneva, with the rank of General, than whom no man was more respected by the army or commanded greater authority. He belonged to no party; by instinct he was a Conservative, but he was no less a man of progress. He had known war practically, and had written much from his long and able experience upon its science. No one was better acquainted with the cantonal militias, having presided for many years as Chief Instructor of the corps of Engineers at the camp of exercise at Thun. To the best qualities of a warrior he united those of a peaceful citizen. He was engaged in constructing the great map of Switzerland which bears his name when called to view the field of his studies transformed into a theatre of battle. He understood the danger that threatened his country, he saw his duty clearly, and he determined to do it—(Vulliemin). Such is the character of the man whose brilliant military talents saved the unity and prosperity of the Swiss at one of the most critical periods of their history. Though the scope of Dufour's work was infinitesimally smaller, he may not inaptly be styled the General Grant of Switzerland.

Sonderbund Civil War, Nov. 11-29, 1847.

Compared to the Federal army, the forces of the *Sonderbund* were much inferior in numbers, discipline and arms. When war actually began, the exaggeration

of the League's power was manifest, as not more than 30,000 regular soldiers were able to be raised. These were placed under the command of Colonel Johann Ulric, a Protestant from the Graubünden. In spite of the certain result of the coming struggle, and actuated by the remembrance of their past triumphs, the Leaguers, even before the Diet had passed its decree, occupied the Passes of the St. Gothard (November 3rd), and surprised and routed a body of 3,000 Ticinois, at Airolo, whom they followed to the bridge of the Moësa. Here they were met by the militias of the Graubünden and of Ticino, whose numbers effectually prevented their further progress. Meanwhile General Dufour was calmly and rapidly maturing his plan of campaign, and preparing for all emergencies. Without going into the details of these, or enumerating the minor incidents of the short though sanguinary encounter, it will be sufficient to follow the chief events "that led to the vindication of the Federal Government's authority, and the termination of the Civil War. Disposing his troops in such a manner as to hem in the *Sonderbund* cantons, Dufour made the first important attack on Freyburg. Here, marching from the north and the west, 20,000 men, with fifty-four pieces of artillery, met and besieged the city (November 10th). Garrisoned by only 5,000 militia and some 7,000 irregulars, with little or no discipline, and torn by political factions, Freyburg was able to offer but a feeble resistance, and on the 14th formally capitulated, and was at once occupied by the Federals. After several lesser victories, Zug (November 21st) shared the fate of Freyburg, as did the Entlibuch districts. After these unchecked successes, the army

marched against Luzern. At Gislikon the opposing forces met, and for six hours fought obstinately. At a critical moment in the battle a battery of Bernese artillery arrived at full galop, at once took up position, and, by pouring a murderous fire into the ranks of the Leaguers, turned the fortunes of the day from what appeared a coming defeat into a complete victory for the Federals"—(Dufour, Daguet). Leaving numbers of their ranks on the field, the Leaguers were soon in full retreat, and on the following day (November 24th) Luzern was entered without further resistance. Within the next week the last hopes of the *Sonderbund* were shattered by the surrender of Schwyx, Unterwalden and Uri. These little states, that in former times made such a heroic defence against the might of France, and defeated the armies of Burgundy and of Austria, now fell at once before the advance of their own countrymen. The last stand was made by the Valais districts, where hopes of help from Prussia and France kept alive the dying cause. Here, however, the Federals carried all before them; and the war was over, and the *Sonderbund* had ceased to exist (November 29th). Unlike many who have served their country long and well, General Dufour received the highest honours Switzerland was able to confer, both in substantial gifts, and in lavish and enduring respect and affection.

During this period of civil conflict, the most important event in the history of modern Switzerland, Stratford Canning again played a prominent *rôle*, being sent as a Special Ambassador by Lord Palmerston to the Swiss, in order, if possible, to restore harmony, and prevent the impending war. Arriving too late for the

latter purpose, he yet succeeded, by his influence, in a very striking way, in lessening the rigour of the fines, and other penalties, inflicted on the vanquished by the victors, and in restoring the long-lost balance of brotherly love and unity to the Swiss people.

On the termination of the Civil War (the whole expenses of which were levied on the *Sonderbund* cantons, Neuchâtel, and the Inner Rhode of Appenzell, Switzerland at last found rest, and began in earnest the career of material prosperity that to-day distinguishes her amongst European nations. Her many local, political and religious differences culminated in a short, sharp, but happily decisive struggle; the remedy was drastic, but it proved thorough and effective. In many centres important changes took place, but throughout the Confederacy a better feeling between the different centres, a more tolerant spirit between the rival creeds, and a general placing of national needs before local interests, became apparent and grew apace. As in the great American Civil War the vanquished secessionists bowed before the verdict of fortune, so in Switzerland the states which lost in their struggle to create a separate confederacy acknowledged the authority of the triumphal Federal Government. Once more the universal and cruel law that governs all human affairs was demonstrated, that all progress is based on defeat, preceded by suffering, and stimulated by past experience of misery and the hope to escape future troubles.

CHAPTER XXIII

SWITZERLAND OF TO-DAY

THE progress of democratic ideas throughout the greater portion of the Confederation that since 1815 had made such rapid strides, showed itself in a very practical manner shortly after the close of the *Sonderbund* troubles. For several years before that date the need of a reformation of the Constitution had become apparent to most political thinkers, and when Dufour's brilliant success brought settled civil peace to the country the subject was taken up with energy. With far less party-friction and ill-will than before had characterised debates on important political proposals, the Diet discussed the several methods brought forward of revision, and on February 14th relegated the subject to a special committee of fourteen experts to draw up a scheme. This committee had for reporters two of the best informed and most impartially-minded publicists in Switzerland—Henri Druey of Vaud and Varu of Thurgau—to whose learning and tact is due in great measure the very admirable plan of government eventually arrived at. By April 8th the labours of the committee were finished, and the draft scheme of revision handed to the Diet, by whom it was submitted to the vote of the cantons for approval. By a majority of 15½ states the measure was accepted, only the Waldstätten, the Inner

Constitution of 1848.

Rhode of Appenzell, Valais, Zug and Ticino voting against it, and on September 12th it was proclaimed publicly.

As the Constitution of 1848, with some few subsequent amendments, is that under which the Swiss of to-day live, its chief features may here be enumerated, though the political and social condition of modern Switzerland forms no part of the scope of this work. By the terms of the new Constitution the principle of centralisation was considerably expanded, without, however, materially interfering with the position of the individual cantonal governments. As a result much more authority and greater stability were conferred on the national representatives in dealing with matters of national interest. The Central Government now consisted of three principal bodies—the Executive or Federal Council (*Bundesrath*), of whose members one presides over each department of State, one member being chosen as chairman for the year and representing in himself what in other republican countries would be the President of the Republic, though possessing no more personal power than any of his colleagues; the Council of the Cantons (*Stände Rath*) composed of forty-four members, each state electing two deputies; and the National Council (*Nâtional Rath*) made up of representatives chosen directly by the people, in the proportion of one for every 20,000 inhabitants. The two latter bodies together constitute the Federal Assembly, and are jointly responsible for all laws passed or business done. To these were added a Supreme Court of Appeal, and a Federal University was also proposed.

The Federal Government was composed of seven members and was elected by the Federal Assembly for

six years. The permanent seat of the Government was fixed at Bern, that of the Federal Tribunal (since 1874) at Lausanne. By the new Constitution nearly all matters going to make up a free Republican people were guaranteed, as liberty of the press and the right of public meeting, equality of all citizens before the law, freedom to all Christian denominations (Jews were thereby excluded and were not recognised till 1866, and Jesuits were expressly forbidden to settle on Swiss soil), the right of petition, an efficient system of free education, etc. But the hardest problem of all the many obstacles to Swiss unity and progress was solved by the new political changes making the sovereign power of the National Government exist side by side with that of the cantons. Since 1848, the tendency of Liberal politicians has always been towards further centralisation and strengthening the Federal Government, whilst the cantons, especially the mountain ones, have strenuously resisted all encroachments against their rights. It is impossible to over-estimate the benefits conferred on Switzerland by the creation of a powerful Central Government sufficiently strong to dwarf the petty local interests of the several cantons which through so many centuries of unrest had arrested the growth of material, national and individual progress. Chiefly through its agency Switzerland stands to-day a prosperous nation, united within herself and well able to hold her own against encroachment or attack from without. The birth of her nationality moreover was not marked, as in the case of certain other small countries, by an unreasoning ambition to act a *rôle* in European affairs other than that mapped out by her size, geographical position and the character of her people.

Nationality.

Surrounded on all sides by great and powerful nations, without a single outlet except through the territories of those nations, the common-sense of the Swiss enabled them to perceive the direction in which their resources could best be utilised, and to set about with a good-will to accomplish their obvious destiny. The times were other than those when Swiss mercenary troops were eagerly sought and highly paid to fight the battles of foreigners. For many centuries thousands of the mountaineers had lived by the sword, and by the sword many thousands had perished; the name of Swiss had been made synonymous with deeds of heroic valour; it had also become synonymous with heroism that must be paid for; *point d'argent, point de Suisse*, was literally as true as were the prowess, the military instinct and the unswerving sense of duty that distinguished the hosts of mercenary soldiers that for so long held a foremost place in the armies of almost every European State. Heroic ambitions and fratricidal struggles henceforth were to give place to useful and practical legislative measures and material progress. For a people to change its characteristic features suddenly is impossible. To the Swiss is due the honour of putting away with their changed political conditions many of those features of their national life which were out of date and detrimental to their future prosperity. This was the more difficult owing to the conservatism which has always formed a marked trait in the real character of the people at large. With internal dissensions and foreign wars no longer present to check their development the nation steadily laboured at material and intellectual improvement, developed the resources of the country, revived ancient industries, created new

ones, and rapidly rose in the scale of civilisation and well-being. That their fighting instincts were dormant, not dead, is evident by the efficient military organisation the Swiss so soon developed, and still more by the manner in which the old warrior-fire that shed such brilliancy over the names of Morgarten, Granson, Näfels, and the many other fields of Swiss daring, leaped to life when real or imaginary dangers threatened the honour or integrity of the new Fatherland.

Domestic Reforms.

The first Federal Assembly elected under the new conditions met at Bern on November 6th, 1848, and in a business-like way began its new duties by enacting the most urgently needed measures. Of these the more important were, an uniform system of weights, measures and coinage for the whole country; the establishment of a Federal telegraph department, that soon covered Switzerland with a network of communications, and became the most perfect in Europe; a good and extensive service of railways; an improved method of free public instruction; the abolition of capital punishment for political offences, and of imprisonment for debt; a thorough and highly perfected system of military organisation. The Octroi duties levied on goods passing from one canton to another remained in force till 1887, in consequence of the opposition displayed by the cantonal authorities to their abolition, and the consequent loss of revenue their removal would involve.

All through the tumultuous events that characterised the history of European States in 1848—"the year of revolutions"—Switzerland remained secure and practically unaffected; the waves of popular uprisings against real or fancied tyrannies lost their force when they reached her mountain boundaries; *her* revolution

was over, *her* regeneration effected, and most of the wrongs of her people were already righted. Whilst discontent, misery and bloodshed were elsewhere universal, the Swiss nation had but to contend with unimportant local difficulties, and steadily to complete the process of welding her several elements into a united chain of strength and endurance.

Though Switzerland thus stood outside the arena of foreign strife, many of her sons were unable to restrain their love of freedom, and volunteered in several of the struggles then raging in Europe. This was specially the case in the War of Independence of 1849 between Austria and Italy, and in the Italian troubles of 1856-61. In both contests, though the Federal Government prevented Switzerland becoming involved, it could not prevent many thousands of Swiss taking an active part either as volunteers or paid troops.

Neuchâtel.

But the most striking instance of the sudden revival of ancient Swiss valour showed itself in connection with events that disturbed the peace of Neuchâtel in 1856-7. Through the whole range of modern history it would be difficult to find an example of greater national pluck than those events called forth on the part of Switzerland, when alone, and in the teeth of the European Powers she promptly prepared to face the whole might of Prussia, and by her steadfast determination to perish rather than to give up what she deemed her own, saved her honour and preserved the integrity of her soil. The serious crisis in the fate of Neuchâtel, and still more in that of the Confederation, constituted the last, or rather the latest, act of Swiss national heroism. The position of Neuchâtel for many years had been most exceptionable, and as time went on

became more and more untenable. After her incorporation into the Swiss Confederation, in 1815, her political status was anomalous in the extreme. Within her narrow limits a double *régime* existed, the monarchy of Prussia claiming princely rights over the republican people of a Swiss Canton, which rights were guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna. In 1847 Neuchâtel abstained from sharing the burdens of the *Sonderbund* contest, and in 1848, though she had, like the other cantons, her own little revolution, Prussia declined to recognise the changes then inaugurated, and that in spite of the diplomatic efforts made by the Federal Government to obtain a formal release of Prussia's claims. Unlike the other members of the Confederation, where, with the establishment of democratic principles, party feeling rapidly subsided, the Royalist minority in Neuchâtel remained active, and refused to submit to the opinion of the majority. In 1851 an influential deputation laid A.D. 1851. the hopes and fears of the Prussian sympathisers before Frederick William, who promised to further the aspirations of his adherents. In the following year the King brought the subject before the representatives of the European Powers then assembled in London (May 25th). Emboldened by this action, some 3,000 Royalists assembled at Valangin to demonstrate publicly their views. Unfortunately for the success of this meeting, the Republicans organised an opposition gathering, three times larger in number, for the same place and day, which completely eclipsed their opponents' importance (July 6th). The proportional strength of parties being A.D. 1856. thus openly shown, matters remained tolerably quiet till 1856, though several unimportant collisions took place, and much party feeling existed. In September

of that year a very serious rising broke out, consequent on a conspiracy, headed by some influential Royalist nobles and military leaders, to bring about complete annexation to Prussia. The movement, though long maturing, was so carefully and secretly planned, that when it actually declared itself, the local Republican and Federal authorities were in complete ignorance of its importance. Assembling on the night of the 2nd of September, large bodies of the rebels seized several villages, and surprising the capital itself, captured the castle and made prisoners of the members of the Government. In every direction the alarm spread, and with the greatest rapidity the Republicans rallied to the defence of their canton and their institutions. Attacked on all sides by overpowering numbers, the Royalists were repulsed and defeated at every point, the castle was recaptured, the authorities liberated, and some 650 Royalists were made prisoners (September 4th). On the following day a contingent of Federal troops arrived, and the short but critical conflict was ended. Of the prisoners only the chief instigators of the revolt were detained for trial as insurgents, to the number of twenty-eight, the rest being liberated on parole by order of the Federal Government. Passing now from local to national importance, the question of the future of Neuchâtel became a matter of European concern. With the approbation of several of the Powers, the Prussian Ambassador shortly afterwards protested against the violation of the sovereign rights of Frederick William IV. involved in the action of the Federal and Local Authorities of Neuchâtel in repressing the revolt. He further demanded the arrest of all further repressive measures against the Royalists, and the instant liberation of the

prisoners. As compliance with these demands would involve a complete renunciation of Swiss claims over Neuchâtel and of the principles of the Swiss Confederation, the Federal Government refused respectfully, but most firmly, to accede; and in its refusal was supported by an unanimous vote of the Federal Assembly. An attempt on the part of Prussia to enlist the co-operation of the Powers in her favour so far succeeded that France stepped forward as a mediator. In his efforts to bring matters to a satisfactory termination, Napoleon III. seems to have been actuated by the most friendly spirit towards Switzerland; indeed, he assured the special envoy sent to his Court by the Federal Government, that he intended to act as if he himself were the representative of the Swiss. Nothing, however, came of Napoleon's mediation, as, although his efforts were unremitting to settle the difficulty amicably, Frederick William would grant no abatement from his original demands, and neither England nor France would guarantee the future freedom of Neuchâtel from Prussia in the event of the Royalist prisoners being liberated. In spite of much correspondence, and not a few threats, that were none the less menacing for being clothed in diplomatic language, the Swiss stood firmly on the ground that before they could exercise clemency towards the imprisoned rebels, the complete independence of Neuchâtel must be fully and finally acknowledged.

As a last resort Napoleon appealed to General Dufour, his personal friend and former military instructor, to use his great influence with his countrymen, but this also failing, he withdrew from what was apparently a hopeless task. With the breaking off of the negotiations began one of the gravest crises the

Swiss had ever been called upon to face; it lasted less than a month but during that time the sword of one of the most powerful European sovereigns hung over the land, the descent of which meant the almost certain slaughter of thousands, and the probable loss of independence of the whole or part of the Confederation. Had war broken out, the "partition of Switzerland" might have formed as black a chapter in the history of the nineteenth century as that which records the fate of Poland.

With a resolution worthy of a better cause (a resolution conspicuously absent when Prussia had the great Napoleon for an opponent) Frederick William withdrew his ambassador from Bern, ordered the mobilisation of his army, amounting to 300,000 men, and threatened unless his demands were at once conceded, to declare war. Face to face with death and national extinction, the Swiss nation, with an unanimity never before equalled in their history, chose to shed the last drop of blood, to perish as one man, fighting her powerful antagonist, rather than falsify the principles of her newly-formed Constitution by submitting to demands she deemed dishonourable and unjust. And now began a strange, heroic, but none the less pathetic sight. In an instant all Switzerland was changed into a camp. Led by their Government, who represented the nation in a manner governments seldom do, the country commenced her preparations for the coming strife, with a patriotic enthusiasm and disregard for individual interests as marked as it was rare. In every canton of the Confederacy men of every class, rich and poor, old men and youths, men of every creed, politicians of every party, those that had formed the

Sonderbund, and those by whose efforts the *Sonderbund* was destroyed; Germans, French, Italians and Romansch rivalled one another in their zeal to defend their country in the hour of her peril.

Swiss residents abroad hastened to return to their native land or sent large sums of money for the common purse; "in the villages as in the towns, in the workshops, the schools and even the churches, the walls re-echoed the national chant, *Russt du mein Vaterland*." Headed by Bern, all the Cantonal Councils voted unanimously whatever sums should be thought necessary for the expenses of the coming conflict.

On November 27th, the Federal Assembly voted, without a single dissentient voice, the war credits demanded by the Executive. On the same day, in the presence of a vast multitude, General Dufour, the former saviour of his country, took the oath as Commander-in-chief of the national forces. To the assembled crowds, who gave him a splendid ovation, he replied in these memorable words:—"I rejoice to end my life in the service of my country. I am old (he was then seventy) and my task is heavy, for the enemy is powerful, but I trust I shall carry on my mission in the name of the God of our Faith, who has never ceased to protect our Fatherland." Under the Swiss general's experienced guidance the small army of the Confederation was rapidly organised and the plan of campaign mapped out. With the opening of the new year all the preparations were completed, A.D. 1857. and a force of 30,000 well-armed and enthusiastic troops marched to guard the frontier of the Rhine (January 9th).

The resolute course pursued by the Swiss had

doubtless not been calculated upon by Prussia, who hoped to coerce her small neighbour without the employment of actual force. Neither was its effect lost on the other Powers. The spectacle of the whole Swiss nation readily and in earnest preparing to die in defence of their country and for what they held to be the right, awoke the sympathies of Europe and effected what so far diplomacy and threats had failed to accomplish. Once more Napoleon came forward as a mediator and called a Congress at Paris of the representatives of the great Powers to consider the questions in dispute. On the advice of Napoleon, and satisfied with the guarantees given, the Federal Government ordered the liberation of the rebels it had so long kept imprisoned. Stipulating that they should not return to Neuchâtel till its future had been definitely settled, the prisoners were allowed to be taken to France and there set at liberty, where they were kept till the Congress had given its decision. At the meetings in Paris the Swiss adhered to their original claims, and backed as they now were by the sympathies of the Powers, they carried the day and peace was established. The decision of the Congress was naturally strongly demurred to by Prussia, who insisted on a large money indemnity in the event of foregoing her sovereign rights over the disputed territory. Finally, however, Frederick William, after much hesitation, and many efforts to change the disposition of the Powers, renounced without indemnity all rights and claims over the canton (May 26th). In return for this the Kings of Prussia were accorded the barren privilege of adding to their titles that of "Prince of Neuchâtel and Valangin," a privilege the successors of Frederick William have

failed to avail themselves of. Henceforth Neuchâtel ceased to present the curious spectacle of a Republican territory owning allegiance to a monarchial State, and became in every respect identical with the other cantons of the Swiss Confederacy.

Savoy, A.D. 1860.

The next question of importance to arouse public attention was the cession of Savoy by Victor Emmanuel to France (1859-60), as the price of the latter's co-operation with Italy in the war against Austria. The acquisition of this territory had for three centuries been eagerly sought by France, giving as it did the command of the passes of the Alps, and therefore the road to Italy.

Francis I., Henry IV., and Louis XIV. had each occupied Savoy, but each at the conclusion of peace had been forced to restore it. At the Congress of Vienna portions of Savoy were neutralised, but that, as in the guarantees given to Prussia concerning Neuchâtel, was not a matter of much importance if one of the European Powers were sufficiently strong to ignore the undertakings it had entered into in the past. Time went rapidly, and events changed quickly, after the 19th century opened. In the Chablais and Fauçigny districts the inhabitants were eager to unite their lot with the Swiss, who, on their side, regarded Savoy as the "bulwark of their country and the cradle of their dynasty," and were not prepared to see it changed into a perpetual menace to their States, especially to Geneva and Vaud, by being occupied by the French. In vain the Federal Government protested, appealed to the Powers, and even contemplated occupying Savoy with troops. The people, though strongly opposed to the proposed changes, were not

prepared to make the question one of peace or war, neither were they united amongst themselves on the main issue, and without national union the Swiss were always powerless.

A.D. 1859. Though unable to prevent the cession of Savoy, Switzerland was able to prevent the violation of her territory by any of the contending Powers, and during the whole progress of the war maintained a strong force along her frontiers. The necessity of this measure was seen after the conquest of Lombardy, when the Austrian garrison occupying Laveno were compelled to evacuate the fortress and seek refuge on Swiss soil. Here, after laying down their arms, they were cared for and given employment. At the meetings of the Austrian and French representatives at Zürich to settle the terms already agreed to by the Treaty of Villefrance (July 12th, 1859), the Federal Government endeavoured to prevent the cession of Savoy. At first Napoleon appeared inclined to abandon his project of annexation, and the matter remained apparently suspended, till on

A.D. 1860. March 24th, 1860 a treaty was formally ratified at Turin, handing the whole of the Savoy over to the French Empire. Before finally the step was taken, Napoleon announced through the Governors of Chambéry and of Annecy, that, in order to test the feelings of the Savoyards themselves, the question of annexation would be submitted to the popular vote. The result was not difficult to foresee, when such an expert in the art and science of plebiscites as Napoleon III. undertook the management of an appeal to universal suffrage. In spite of the powerful opposition of Upper Savoy to the proposed change, a majority in favour of it was ably secured (April 22nd). In an official despatch written by

Lord John Russell a month afterwards, he expressed to the British Ambassador at Paris the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the manner in which the vote was taken entirely destroyed its value.

Geneva.

The annexation of Savoy naturally gave rise to great apprehensions on the part of Geneva, lest a similar fate awaited that district. In the emergency this hot-bed of political turbulence for once laid aside its quarrels, and with one accord, irrespective of party or religion, the whole population took a solemn oath to uphold, at all costs, the rights and independence of the city. So great indeed became the public alarm that at the elections in the following year James Fazy, who for fifteen years had headed the Radical Government, was removed from power. Though still the dominant party, the Radicals were by this split into two sections, the Fazyists and the anti-Fazyists. These factions, when the fear of annexation had somewhat lessened, soon brought the people back to their normal fighting condition, and by their openly hostile attitude kept the city in a constant state of turmoil, till at length matters became so serious that civil war was only prevented by the interference of the Federal Government, that ordered Geneva to be occupied by national troops and the chief leaders on either side to be arrested. Not till 1869, did political passions give way to common sense and patriotism, when the Genevese united to celebrate the fête of their union with the Confederation. That the fears of Geneva rested upon a very substantial foundation of possibility has been shown by the researches of M. de la Rive. Urged on by his military advisers, Napoleon III. seriously contemplated occupying both Geneva and Belgium, and entered into secret corre-

A.D. 1861.

spondence with Russell and Palmerston to arrive at an understanding with this object, and only abandoned his criminal designs on receiving the assurance that any such attempt would be taken as a *casus belli* by Great Britain.

Franco-Germanic War, A.D. 1870-72.

In the terrible struggle that broke out between France and Germany in 1870, the Swiss not only preserved the neutrality of the cantons, but did much to lessen the miseries of the victims of the war. Fifty thousand Federal troops were detailed to guard the northern and western frontiers of the Confederation, under the able command of Colonel Herzog, a colleague and pupil of General Dufour, the latter being now too advanced in years again to serve his country on active service. The endurance of many hardships throughout the duration of the war, and the tact and energy displayed by officers and men alike deserve the highest praise. In dealing with the army of the ill-fated Bourbaki, not only the Swiss troops but the whole nation were called upon to co-operate. After failing to relieve Belfort, Bourbaki's army, numbering 85,000 men and 9,000 horse, was forced, in order to avoid certain defeat, to cross the Swiss frontiers and lay down their arms. Reduced by an arduous march, unprepared for the terribly severe winter, without sufficient food or proper clothes, and depressed by defeat, the condition of the French troops as they filed through the snow on to the sheltering hospitality of Swiss soil, was miserable in the extreme (February 1st, 1871). Throughout the Confederacy every man vied with his neighbour in kindness to the foreigners, who were quartered throughout the land till the war ended, when they returned to their country recruited in body, and loud in their gratitude to their hosts. To the Germans

who were obliged to leave France at the outbreak of hostilities, the Swiss showed numberless kindnesses, relieving their necessities, and granting them aid in their homeward journey through Switzerland. But the most touching instance of practical goodness during the war occurred at the siege of Strasburg. Here, through the exertions of the Swiss, permission was granted by both belligerents to the non-combatant portion of the garrison to escape the horrors of the bombardment. Fourteen hundred old men and women, with the sick and the children, left the doomed city, under the protection of the descendants of the ancient allies of their ancestors, and found homes in the cantons, where they were supported with every care during their time of trouble. The work done by members of the Red Cross Society (started by the Geneva Convention, under the presidency of General Dufour, in 1864) on the field of battle to the wounded of France and Germany alike, is another noble instance of the change that had come over the character of the Swiss with their new national life. At the beginning of the war the sympathies of Switzerland were certainly with the Germans, but after Sedan, and the declaration of the Republic, a general revulsion took place in favour of the French. Switzerland, however, did not allow her personal feelings to limit or control the aid she so generously gave the victims of both nations. By public and private benevolence, and the formation of numerous committees, she did much to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded and their families, and to assist the thousands who were brought to ruin and misery through that cruel and unjustifiable conflict.[1]

1 After the peace of Versailles, the Republic of France, under M. Thiers, forwarded the Federal Government twelve million

Amendment of Constitution of 1848.

With the establishment of staple forms of national and local government the Radical party in Switzerland made rapid progress in strength and prominence. To advanced political thinkers it soon became apparent that to create really effective and popular national and cantonal legislatures, the Federal authority must be still further strengthened, and a more direct control and interest in public affairs be confided to the people themselves. Though theoretically the methods adopted in 1848 approached perfection for the needs of the nation, yet in practice it was too often seen that the elected deputies made national interest subservient to local or personal claims. Ministers, moreover, were apt to assume full responsibility in matters demanding public approval and to increase the very ample powers already confided in them. Another revision of the Constitution was, however, difficult to accomplish in face of the opposition of the cantons to all measures likely further to curtail their rights by greater centralisation. The mass of the people, too, always in modern times opposed to sudden sweeping changes, were difficult to educate in progressive political ideas. On several occasions, notably in 1872, the question of revision was brought to the popular vote, but failed to receive sufficient support to enable the Federal Assembly undertaking it. Undeterred by the popular rejection of their views the Radical societies, especially the "Helvetic" and the "Grütli-Verein," continued

francs as part of the expenses the Swiss had been put to by the war. Besides the large sums voluntarily given to the French officers and men during the time they remained within the cantons, the cost of maintaining the troops necessary for guarding the neutrality of the Confederate frontiers, amounted to eight million francs.

their agitations in favour of Reform, and by 1874 had so far changed the current of public thought, that on the question being again submitted to the vote of the nation it obtained a substantial majority in its favour (April 19th). The Assembly at once undertook the task of revision in accordance with the prevailing political views, and on the 28th of the following month the new Constitution was officially declared in force. A.D. 1874.

Though the Radical ideal of "one people, one law, one army," was not realised by the amended Constitution of Seventy-four, a very decided increase of the central national authority was effected, and by the general introduction of the *Referendum* and *Initiative*, democratic government reached the furthest limit it had yet obtained. The following are the chief reforms and additions to the Constitution of Forty-eight embodied in the new Act or introduced later. In military matters, the instruction and organisation, as well as the control and command of the army, were vested in the Federal Government, while the duty of recruiting their contingents (these being proportionate to the size and population of each state), the carrying out of all Federal military laws, and the nomination of officers, were assigned to the cantonal authorities.[1] This division

1 Though the main body of the army was recruited in this manner, the Engineers, Guides, Sanitary and Administrative troops, and the Army Train, were recruited by the Federal authorities. Under the present system, the Swiss soldier serves 45 days as recruit in his 1st year, and 16 days in his 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th years, being 109 days in all. The whole military forces are divided into the Élite or active army, composed of all citizens between the ages of 20 and 32; the Landwhehr, or first reserve, of those from 32 to 44; and the Landsturm of those from 15 to 50, not serving in either of the other divisions. The minimum chest measurement of recruits is fixed at 31½ inches, and the minimum height 5 feet 1½ inches.

of responsibility was further shown in the Central Government supplying the arms and the Cantonal the uniforms. For purposes of organisation, all Switzerland was divided into eight military divisions, and, as far as feasible, all recruits were enrolled into corps of that territorial division into which their own districts were situated. With the exception of a small number of officials, every Swiss citizen must serve an allotted period in the army, those living abroad, or who from physical unfitness, or other compulsory reason are unable so to serve, being subjected to a money fine. To the Federal power belongs the sole right of making war, concluding peace, or entering into alliances with foreign states. Through the military systems initiated in Forty-eight and Seventy-four, and since elaborated, the organisation of the Swiss forces has reached a very perfected condition, and though the annual cost per man (£7) is the lowest of all European armies, the Swiss soldier is better armed, drilled, and prepared for the emergencies of warfare than that of any other nation. His military training begins in the gymnastic exercises of the communal schools, is continued at the many shooting competitions so frequently held, and is perfected by the instruction he receives when serving in the ranks by the very efficient permanent staff of instructors maintained by the Confederation. At the present day 200,000 troops, ready for active service in every particular, can be concentrated in any part of Switzerland, within a week of the order being issued for their mobilisation.

In many matters affecting the everyday life of the people, the changes wrought by the amendments introduced into the old Constitution mark a considerable forward move. Amongst these are—regulation of hours

of work and of employment of children in manufactories; suppression of gambling houses and lotteries; introduction of habeas corpus; abolition of capital punishment in cases unaffected by the military code; political offences and constitutional questions to be tried by the Federal Tribunal; establishment of new convents or religious orders forbidden; permanent exclusion of Jesuits or their affiliates from Swiss soil; no bishoprics to be established without the consent of the Government; introduction of civil in place of ecclesiastical marriages; primary education to be free, unsectarian, compulsory, and under secular management. The revenue passing into the Federal treasury for national purposes is fixed to come from that derived from the Customs, posts and telegraphs, the government monopoly of the manufacture of gunpowder, and half the sum paid to the cantons for exemption from military service.

Referendum and Initiative.

Two great political changes, added to the earlier Constitution, stamped the reforms of Seventy-four with peculiar importance. These were the introduction and subsequent general acceptance, in both Federal and Cantonal affairs, of the systems giving the people a direct participation in Government, known as the *Referendum* and *Initiative*.[1] By the former is meant the reference of new laws or regulations to the general vote of the citizens for approval or rejection before they can be legally enforced. The Initiative, on the other hand, is the method whereby a certain number

1 The brief account given of the *Referendum* and the *Initiative*, as well as of the later political institutions of Switzerland, is taken chiefly from the very able work of the late Sir Francis Adams, "The Swiss Confederation."

A.D. 1874. of votes can compel the legislative councils to introduce and discuss proposals for a new law or the abolition of an old one. By the Act of 1848 an appeal to the country was made necessary before any alteration in the Federal Constitution could be effected. To this compulsory Referendum a clause was added in the new Act, by which the Federal Government was obliged to submit new laws to the general vote of the nation on the demand of eight cantons or 30,000 citizens, and to introduce proposals for a new law when 50,000 votes, or eight cantons, called for it (Federal Initiative). So also in local matters, either a compulsory or optional Referendum was introduced and gradually obtained general acceptance throughout the Confederation, except in ultramontane Freyburg, and in democratic Uri, Glarus, Unterwalden and Appenzell, where the existing *Landsgemeinden* already gave the people complete and direct participation in the regulation of their own local affairs. Each canton has had the option to adopt the system, and each doing so has settled for itself the particular method of applying it and what questions, if any, shall be settled by the authorities independently of the popular control. In the Valais, for instance, only financial acts are submitted to the Referendum. As a general rule the Cantonal Initiative requires from 1,500 to 5,000 votes, while in Bern and in Valais it is absent. A compulsory Referendum now obtains for all legislative Acts in Bern, Zürich, Solothurn, the Graubünden, Aargau, Thurgau and in Schwyx. Though only officially introduced for the whole Confederacy during the latter half of the present century, the Referendum, under different forms, has long been practical in Switzerland. Without including the demo-

cratic institutions of the *Landsgemeinden*, to which all local acts were regularly referred, it was often the custom in very early times for large town cantons, such as Zürich and Bern, to submit important issues to the popular vote; this was done, in a measure, by these two states on the subject of accepting the Reformation. "After 1830, several cantons introduced a popular veto, which paved the way for the Referendum. The first was St. Gallen, by its Constitution of 1831. This contained an article declaring the sovereignty of the people, and stating that they had therefore the right of passing their own laws, and that every law was subject to the sanction of the people, who could, after a fixed period, refuse to adopt it. They could therefore exercise a right of veto"—(Adams). In the same year a Referendum was made obligatory in the rural division of Basel. The Referendum has now become a very important factor in all domestic affairs in Switzerland, and is the characteristic political feature of the country. For foreign questions it has not yet been applied, nor does there seem any probability of it ever being so used. The Swiss are quite content to leave their diplomatic relations with other Powers in the custody of the National Government. On the whole, with some notable exceptions, when through non-conception of the purposes of proposed new Federal laws or side issues necessary measures have been rejected by the popular vote, the Referendum, both for local and national affairs, has worked smoothly and well. It has placed the whole Government of the Confederation upon a more democratic basis than is to be found in any other country, making "government of the people by the people" a thorough reality; it has greatly increased the

educated interest taken in politics by the voters; it has taken politics out of the control of wire-pullers and parties, and placed all important issues directly in the hands of the electors, whose decision is at once clear and definite, and carries far more weight than can that of any Second Chamber. In one striking feature the Referendum has been found in practice to work very differently from what its advocates believed and its opponents dreaded. Fostered and finally introduced by the Radicals, and violently opposed by the Conservatives, the Referendum was believed by politicians of both parties to be a powerful weapon for Radical measures and for no others. Far from this being the case, it is found to act as a very potent Conservative agent, opposing itself equally to extremes in either a forward or retrogressive direction.

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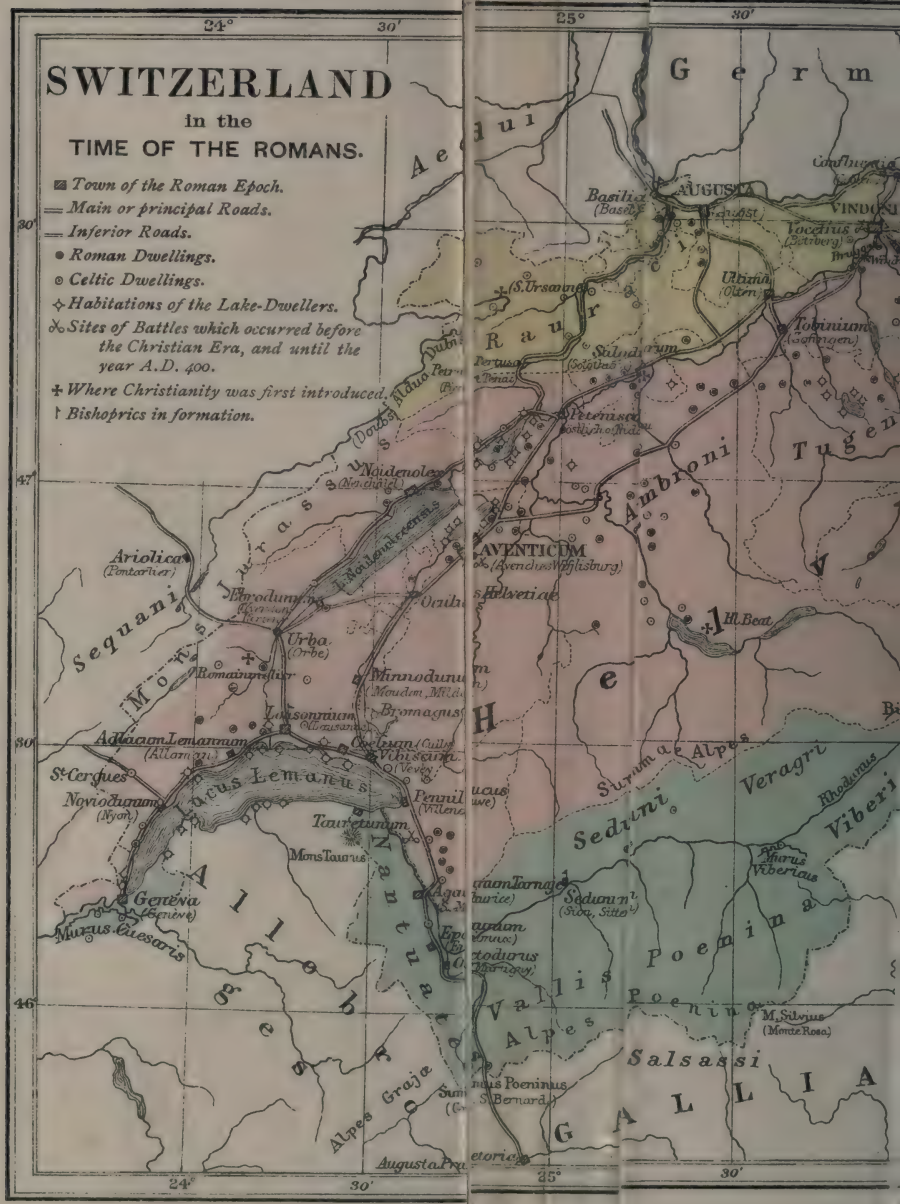
SWITZERLAND
in the
TIME OF THE ROMANS.
Town of the Roman Epoch.
Main or principal Roads.
Inferior Roads.
Roman Dwellings.
Celtic Dwellings.
Habitations of the Lake-Dwellers.
Sites of Battles which occurred before the Christian Era, and until the year A.D. 400.
Where Christianity was first introduced.
Bishoprics in formation.
24°
30'
25°
30'
47°
46°
Germ
Raur
Sequani
Helvetiae
Ambroni
Tugen
Sedun
Veragri
Viberi
Salassi
GALLIA
Alpes Graiae
Alpes Poeninae
Lacus Lemanus
Mons Jura
Mons Taurus
Augusta Prae
Ariolica
Urba
Minnodunum
Bromagus
Lousonnium
Aventicum
Noviodunum
Tauretunium
Genava
Seduni
Forum Viberium
Vallis Poenina
M. Silvius
Mons Poeninus
St. Bernard
Basilia
Augusta
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